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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL

OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

25947

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J. H. S.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Rules of the Society	xiii
List of Officers and Members	xix
Transactions of the Society—1881	xxxv
1. Statuette of Athenè Parthenos—C. T. NEWTON	1
2. Homeric and Hellenic Ilium—R. C. JEBB	7
3. Contributions to the History of Southern Aeolis, I.—W. M. RAMSAY	44
4. Bust of Perseus (Pl. IX.)—A. S. MURRAY	55
5. Kylix with Exploits of Theseus (Pl. X.)—CECIL SMITH	57
6. Votive Armour and Arms (Pl. XI.)—W. GREENWELL	65
7. Stairs to Pandroseum at Athens—J. FERGUSSON	83
8. Boat-races among the Greeks—P. GARDNER	90
9. An Inscription at Cambridge (C. I. G. 106)—E. L. HICKS	98
10. Inscriptions from Dodona, II.—E. S. ROBERTS	102
11. Exploration of the Bocotian Orchomenus (Pl. XII., XIII.)— H. SCHLIEMANN	122
12. On the Authenticity of the Olympian Register—J. P. MAHAFFY	164
13. On some Ionic Elements in Attic Tragedy, II.—A. W. VERRALL	179
MISCELLANEA :—	
The Pentathlon—E. MYERS	217
Notes and Rectifications ; Pamphylian Inscription—W. M. RAMSAY	222
Corrigenda ; Inscriptions on two Vases—C. SMITH	225
The Ram in Aeginetan Sculpture—A. S. MURRAY	227
Where was Dodona ?—BISHOP OF LINCOLN	228*
14. Byzantine Satire—H. F. TOZER	233
15. Contributions to the History of Southern Aeolis, II.—W. M. RAMSAY	271
16. Actors with Bird-Masks on Vases (Pl. XIV.)—CECIL SMITH	309

	PAGE
17. Boat-races at Athens—P. GARDNER	315
18. Perspective as applied in Early Greek Art (Pl. XV.)—A. S. MURRAY .	318
19. On an Archaic Earring—AMELIA B. EDWARDS	324
20. Statuette of Pallas from Cyprus (Pl. XVI.)—P. GARDNER	326
21. Pythagoras of Rhegion and the Early Athlete Statues, II.— C. WALDSTEIN	332
22. A New Diadumenos Gem—S. COLVIN	352
23. On an Unedited Rhodian Inscription—C. T. NEWTON	354
24. Inscription from Kalymnos—C. T. NEWTON	362
25. On two Inscriptions from Olympia—D. COMPARETTI	365
26. The Battle of Marathon—W. W. LLOYD	380

CLASSIFIED TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.—EXCAVATION AND TRAVEL.

	PAGE
BISHOP OF LINCOLN.—Where was Dodona	228
W. M. RAMSAY.—Contributions to the History of Southern Aeolis, I.	44
" " "	II. 271
H. SCHLIEHMANN.—Exploration of the Boeotian Orchomenus	122

II.—ART AND MANUFACTURE.

S. COLVIN.—A New Diadumenes Gem	352
A. B. EDWARDS.—On an Archaic Earring	324
J. FERGUSSON.—Stairs to Pandroseum at Athens	83
P. GARDNER.—Statuette of Pallas from Cyprus	326
W. GREENWELL.—Votive Armour and Arms	65
A. S. MURRAY.—Bust of Perseus	55
„ The Ram in Aeginetan Sculpture	227
„ Perspective as applied in Early Greek Art	318
C. T. NEWTON.—Statuette of Athenè Parthenos	1
C. SMITH.—Kylix with Exploits of Theseus	57
„ Corrigenda. Inscriptions on Two Vases	225
„ Actors with Bird-masks on Vases	300
C. WALDSTEIN.—Pythagoras of Rhegion and the Early Athlete Statues, II.	330

III.—PHILOLOGY AND INSCRIPTIONS.

D. COMPARETTI.—On two-Inscriptions from Olympia	365
E. L. HICKS.—An Inscription at Cambridge (C. I. G. 106).	98
C. T. NEWTON.—On an Unedited Rhodian Inscription	354
„ Inscription from Kalymnos	362

	PAGE
W. M. RAMSAY.—Notes and Rectifications; Pamphylian Inscription . . .	222
E. S. ROBERTS.—Inscriptions from Dodona, II.	102
A. W. VERRALL.—On some Ionic Elements in Attic Tragedy, II. . . .	179

IV.—HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

P. GARDNER.—Boat-races among the Greeks	90
„ Boat-races at Athens	315
R. C. JEBB.—Homeric and Hellenic Ilium	7
W. W. LLOYD.—The Battle of Marathon	380
J. P. MAHAFFY.—On the Authenticity of the Olympian Register . . .	164
E. MYERS.—The Pentathlon	217
H. F. TOZER.—Byzantine Satire	233

LIST OF WOOD-CUTS, &c.

	PAGE
Statuette of Athenè Parthenos	3
Insription at Azizieh	45
„ „ Menemen	52
Lekythos in form of Helmet	69
Upper part of same	70
West front of Temple of Athenè Polias	86
Coin of Nicopolis	90
„ Coreyra	90
Map of Site of Orchomenus	131
Marble Slab from Treasury at Orchomenus	138
Plan of Treasury at Orchomenus	140
Threshold of Treasury	142
Door of Thalamos at Orchomenus	144
Threshold of Thalamos	144
Pottery from Treasury at Orchomenus	153, 155, 157, 159
Athlete Leaping (from a Vase)	219
Map of Southern Aeolis	274
Wall of Myrina	277
Wall of Temnos	287
Remains of Temple at Temnos	288, 289, 290
Remains at Namrât Kalessi	292, 293, 294
Boundary Stone of Melampagitæ and Heracleotæ	296, 297

	PAGE
Plan of Tomb near Emir Aalemi	298
Shape of Tile from Aeolic Cities	303
Decoration of Vase from Phocaea	304
Shape of Vase ,,	305
Archaic Earring	324
Stump of Tree by Choiseul-Gouffier Statue	339
Outline of same Statue restored	340
Statue of Boxer in the Palazzo Gentili	342
River-gods on Coins of Pandosia and Selinus	348
A Diadumenos Gem	352
Two Inscriptions from Olympia	365

RULES AND LIST OF MEMBERS.



RULES

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, fac-similes, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more

Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer, the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council.

6. No money shall be drawn out of the hands of the Treasurer or dealt with otherwise than by an order of Council, and a cheque signed by two members of Council and countersigned by a Secretary.

7. The Council shall have power to elect from among their Members a Standing Committee for the management of the ordinary business of the Society, such Standing Committee not to exceed twelve in number, of whom one-fourth shall retire annually,

but shall be eligible for re-election if they continue Members of the Council.

8. The Standing Committee shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

9. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Committee, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

10. Three Members of the Committee, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

11. All questions before the Standing Committee shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

12. The Council shall meet twice in each year to determine all questions which may be referred to them by the Standing Committee or by Members, and to prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to a General Meeting of the Society.

13. At these meetings of the Council the Standing Committee shall submit to them a Report of their proceedings since the last meeting of the Council, and the Treasurer shall also submit an abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure during the same interval.

14. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

15. Members of Council shall at all times have free access to the Minutes of Meetings of the Standing Committee.

16. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

17. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined.

18. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society in a General Meeting.

19. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual General Meeting.

20. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual General Meeting.

21. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

22. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the General Meetings, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

23. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

24. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least one fortnight before the Annual Meeting.

25. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual General Meeting.

26. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual General Meeting.

27. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Standing Committee, and at their next Meeting the Committee shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed : no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

28. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £10 10s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

29. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Standing Committee make an order to the contrary.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

THE
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THE SESSION OF 1881.

The First General Meeting for the reading of Papers and for Discussion was held on *Thursday, February 24*, when the chair was taken by the REV. MARK PATTISON, B.D., Member of Council, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.

The HON. SECRETARY read a paper by Mr. Fergusson, controverting Mr. A. S. Murray's theory as to the Steps which gave entrance to the Erechtheum, propounded in Vol. I. of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (p. 224). In the course of discussion on the paper, Mr. J. T. Wood, while expressing general agreement with Mr. Fergusson's view, remarked that there were several questions as to the construction and purpose of the Erechtheum which could only be cleared up by a thorough excavation of the building. The Society might perhaps help towards the execution of this most desirable object. (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. II. p. 83.)

MR. E. MYERS read a paper on the 'Pentathlon,' taking up some special points in Professor Gardner's paper on the subject in Vol. I. of the *Journal*. (*Journal*, Vol. II. p. 217.)

The CHAIRMAN read a paper by the Rev. E. L. Hicks, on a 'Greek Inscription at Cambridge,' published by Boeckh among the Attic Decrees (*C. I. G.* 106). Mr. Hicks contended that it must have come from Halikarnassus, and had reference to the revolution at Troezen in 303 B.C. (*Journal*, Vol. II. p. 98.)

The HON. SEC. read a paper by Professor Mahaffy, on the 'Authenticity of the Olympian Register' (*Journal*, Vol. II. p. 164). The writer's aim was to prove that the first fifty Olympiads and the primary date, 776 B.C., had been too readily accepted, and that there was good ground for believing that Hippias the rhetor constructed, about 390—70 B.C., the whole history of the feast,—partly from the evidence before him, partly from the analogy of other feasts. He fixed the commencement of his list, after the manner of the chronologers of his day, by the supposed date of the mythical founder. Hence, neither the names nor the dates found in Eusebius' copy of the register for the first fifty Olympiads are to be accepted as genuine, unless they are corroborated by other evidence.

The HON. SEC. read a letter from the Bishop of Lincoln (*Journal*, Vol. II. p. 228), pointing out that in his work on Greece, published in 1839, there was a passage founded on his personal observations in 1832, which strikingly anticipated the recent discovery by M. Karapanos of the true site of Dodona.

The Second General Meeting was held on *Thursday, April 21*, when the chair was taken by PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, C.B., Vice-President.

The CHAIRMAN read a paper on the 'Statuette of Athenè Parthenos,' recently discovered at Athens, and supposed with good reason to be a rude copy of the chryselephantine statue of Pheidias (*Journal*, Vol. II. p. 1). Photographs of the Statuette, presented by Mr. Merlin, British Consul at the Piræus, were exhibited to the meeting.

PROFESSOR GARDNER read a paper by Canon Greenwell, on 'Votive Armour and Arms' (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. II. p. 65). A general account of such objects led to the discussion of the question of the date of the introduction of iron into Greece, and of the consequent disuse of bronze for weapons, save of a votive character. Then followed a full description of a particular bronze spear-head, of quadrangular form, and inscribed on three of the four faces of

the blade, which Canon Greenwell believed must have come from Olympia, from its strong resemblance to others found there during the recent excavations. An illustration of this spear-head is given on Plate XI. in the atlas which accompanies the *Journal*. A discussion followed, in which the Chairman and Messrs. Pollock, Cust, Geldart, and Gardner took part.

PROF. GARDNER read a paper on 'Boat-Races among the Greeks' (*Journal*, Vol. II. p. 90), in which he brought forward evidence, chiefly from the coins of Corcyra, but also from allusions in the whole range of Greek literature, to show that such contests existed among the Greeks.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the land-locked harbour of Corfu was specially fitted for boat-racing, and threw out the suggestion that the famous 'Phaselus ille,' &c., of Catullus might possibly be a translation of some Greek inscription commemorating a galley that had won a race. He referred also to the bronze prow of a galley found in the Bay of Actium, and now in the British Museum. *À propos* of a reference made by Stephanus to the establishment at Actium of a πλοίων ἄμιλλα, the Rector of Lincoln pointed out that πλοῖον in classic Greek meant not a galley but a merchant or transport vessel. It was doubted, however, whether the distinction would have been observed by Stephanus.

The REV. E. M. GELDART read a paper on 'The Etymology of the words ξηρός, ξανθός, κ.τ.λ.' Stated in a tabular form, his argument was as follows:—

- | | | |
|--|------------|----------------------|
| 1. 'Εκρέει, ἐξέρ[ρ]ευσε | as if from | ξερεύω = ξερός εἰμι. |
| 1a. 'Ερρέει, ¹ ἐνέρ[ρ]ευσε ¹ | „ „ | νερεύω = νερός εἰμι. |
| 2. 'Εξανθεῖ, ἐξάνθησε | „ „ | ξανθῶ = ξανθός εἰμι. |
| 3. 'Εκνέω, -νεύω, ἐξένευσε | „ „ | ξενεύω = ξενός εἰμι. |

These derivations are on the analogy of the modern ξάσ-τερος, inferred from ἐξαστέρησε,¹ aor. 1 of ἐξαστερῶ.¹

¹ Conjectural forms.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Took place on *Thursday, June 16*, when PROF. C. T. NEWTON, Vice-President, was in the chair. The following Report was read by the HON. SEC. on behalf of the Council:—

*Report on the Progress of the Society from January 22, 1880,
to June 16, 1881.*

It is exactly two years to-day since the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies was formally inaugurated. A Provisional Committee then appointed drew up Rules which were confirmed by a General Meeting on January 22, 1880, on which occasion were elected the present Officers and Council.

The Council has to-day to report on the progress made since the meeting on January 22, 1880.

At that date the numbers of the Society were about 270. Since then 180 new members have been elected, so that the Society now numbers 450, exclusive of Honorary Members.

At the last Annual Meeting the Council expressed their intention of carrying out the objects of the Society, as laid down in Rule I., by the periodical publication of memoirs and documents. This promise has been fulfilled in the shape of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, of which the first volume, of 314 pages, was published at the end of last year, accompanied by an Atlas containing 8 Plates. It is hoped that such a volume may be published annually, in half-yearly parts appearing about April and October. The first part for the present year, much of which has been in type for some months, was kept back in order to include an important paper from Dr. Schliemann on his discoveries at Orchomenus. It will be issued to members as soon as possible. The editorship of the Journal is in the hands of a Committee, consisting of Professor Gardner, Professor Hort, Professor Jebb, and Mr. Bywater.

With a view to periodical meetings of the Society, the Council has secured at a moderate rent the occasional use

of the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society in Albemarle Street; and arrangements have been made for four General Meetings in the year, at which papers may be read and any important communications be made to the Society. A branch of the Society has been formed at Cambridge, under the chairmanship of the Master of Trinity, for the purpose of promoting in that University the objects set forth in No. I. of the Society's Rules. It is hoped that a similar branch may be formed in Oxford.

Communications have been opened, and exchanges of publications arranged, with the following societies and institutions: the Royal Asiatic Society, the Numismatic Society of London, the French School at Athens, the Imperial German Institute of Archaeological Correspondence at Athens, the Imperial German Archaeological Institute at Rome, the Society for the Encouragement of Greek Studies in France, the Evangelical School at Smyrna, the Parnassos Society at Athens, the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, and the American Archaeological Institute; and with the proprietors of the *Athenaion*, the *Archäologische Zeitung*, the *Revue Archéologique*, and Bursian's *Jahresbericht für die classische Alterthumswissenschaft*.

The Council have also purchased for the use of members complete sets of the following foreign journals: the *Mittheilungen* of the German Institute at Athens, the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, the *Athenaion*, the *Philistor*, and the new series of the *Revue Archéologique*. A few other books have been presented to the Society.

At the suggestion of M. Gennadius, mutual relations have been established with the Parnassos Society at Athens, who have kindly consented to represent the interests of the Society in Greece, and to give every assistance to members wishing to travel in the country and bearing introductions from the Council.

In accordance with the provisions of Rule XXXI., the Council have nominated fifteen Foreign and four British Honorary Members. These are: His Majesty the King of the Hellenes, Professor H. Brunn, Professor Comparetti,

Professor Ernst Curtius, M. Foucart, Professor W. Helbig, Professor A. Kirchhoff, Dr. H. Köhler, Professor S. A. Kumanudes, Professor A. Michaelis, Mons. B. E. C. Miller, Member of the Institute, M. Rangabé, Professor L. Stephani, M. Waddington, Member of the Institute, and the Baron J. de Witte ; Mr. Biliotti, British Consul at Trebizond, Mr. George Dennis, British Consul at Smyrna, Mr. Merlin, British Consul at the Piræus, and Mr. Wood, British Consul at Patras.

As to the financial position of the Society, the Balance Sheet now presented shows that, from June, 1879, up to the present time, the sum of £1,340 3s. 9d. has been received in members' subscriptions, donations, and from libraries subscribing to the *Journal*. The sum of £467 5s. 8d. has been expended on the *Journal*, Printing of Circulars, Stationery, Postage, the Hire of Rooms, the Purchase of Books, &c., leaving a balance in hand of £872 18s. 1d. Of this £378 consists of Life Subscriptions which it is proposed to fund, but even so there is a balance of about £500 for present expenses, and there are £150 still due in unpaid subscriptions. It is particularly requested that these arrears may be paid up as quickly as possible.

On the whole the Council think there is good reason to be satisfied with the progress made in the past year and a half. It is most desirable that the Society's power of work should be increased by the adhesion of fresh members interested in its objects, and it is hoped that members will do what they can to enlist subscribers. The larger the income placed at their disposal, the better able will the Council be to turn their attention to other objects indicated in the first of the Society's Rules, and to take effective action whenever occasion may arise.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

CASH STATEMENT, *June, 1879, to May 31, 1881.*

		£ s. d.				£ s. d.	
To Members' Yearly and Life Subscriptions and				By Printing and Paper, <i>Journal</i> , Vol I.			
Donations to May 31, 1881.		1,327 11 9		,, Illustrations for ditto		215 0 8	
,, Library Subscriptions		12 12 0		,, Carriage of <i>Journal</i> and Packing.		114 10 9	
				,, Books		17 18 3	
				,, Stationery and Postage.		27 6 0	
				,, Printing Circulars, Post-cards, &c.		28 1 0	
				,, Rent of Rooms, Albemarle Street		26 3 6	
				,, Petty Cash		12 10 0	
				,, Sundries :—		10 0 0	
				Room at Freemasons' Tavern		£ s. d.	
				Book Case		3 5 6	
				Assistant Secretary, June to December, 1880		6 0 0	
				Cheque-books		7 6	
				Balance		15 15 6	
						872 18 1	
						£1,340 3 9	
						£872 18 1	
						£1,340 3 9	

GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, Hon. Sec.,

We have compared the above Balance Sheet with the Society's Accounts and Vouchers, and find it to be correct.
 FREDERICK POLLOCK.
 DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD.

June 15th, 1881.

The adoption of the Council's Report was then moved by MR. R. N. CUST, the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, who, after expressing his approval of the progress of the Society as reported on by the Council, stated also his satisfaction at the Society assembling in the Rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society.

MR. PERCIVAL, in seconding the motion, urged strongly the acquisition of fresh subscribing members in order that the sphere of the Society's work might be enlarged.

The Report was adopted unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, after expressing regret at the unavoidable absence of the Bishop of Durham, the President of the Society, read out the names of the Officers and Council proposed for the coming year. In accordance with Rule XX., the following members now retired: The Dean of Westminster, Professors Henry Smith, Bonamy Price, Kennedy, and Mahaffy, Messrs. A. J. Balfour, H. O. Coxe, F. C. Penrose, and Oscar Wilde. In their stead were nominated: Mr. S. H. Butcher, Professor A. Goodwin, Rev. E. L. Hicks, Mr. Henry Jackson, Mr. Andrew Lang, Mr. Peile, Rev. E. S. Roberts, Mr. J. E. Sandys, Mr. Arthur Sidgwick, and Dr. William Smith, while Professor Mahaffy was re-elected. The only other change proposed in the constitution of the Officers and Council was the addition of the names of Professors W. D. Geddes and R. Y. Tyrrell, to the list of Vice-Presidents.

The adoption of the Council's proposal was moved by Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, Vice-President, seconded by Mr. W. G. Rutherford, and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors, Messrs. Douglas Freshfield and Frederick Pollock, was moved by Prof. Gardner, who took the opportunity of saying that satisfactory as, on the whole, the progress of the Society had so far been, two things were still urgently needed, (1) an increase of funds to enable the Society to carry out the further objects laid down in its Rules, and (2) constant attendance and attention on the part of Members of Council. In course of time no

doubt fresh openings for activity in the examination of ancient sites, &c., would occur, and it might be hoped that eventually the Society would be in a position to aid all those who wish to study Hellenic Antiquities, whether at home or abroad.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Percival and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN then stated that in the absence of the President no address was forthcoming on the progress of Hellenic Studies during the past year, such as it was hoped might be produced at subsequent annual meetings, but Professor Gardner would read parts of Dr. Schliemann's paper on 'Orchomenus,' which had been alluded to in the Report as sufficient justification for the delay of the new number of the *Journal*. (*Journal*, Vol. II. p. 122.)

Parts of the paper having been read, a discussion followed, in which Mr. Percival, Professor Gardner, and the Chairman took part. The Chairman said that the size of the blocks in the building described, as well as the style of ornamentation, pointed to a remote antiquity. It must be determined also what this so-called Treasury is, whether a tomb or a temple; specimens of pottery, too, were needed as evidence of age.

MISS AMELIA B. EDWARDS exhibited an archaic gold earring said to have been found on the Acropolis at Athens. (*Journal*, Vol. II. p. 324.)

A vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Rev. W. Wayte, and seconded by Professor Constantinides, closed the proceedings.

The Last General Meeting was held on *Thursday, October 20*, the REV. H. F. TOZER, Vice-President, in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN read a paper on 'Byzantine Satire' (*Journal*, Vol. II. p. 233), taking as illustrations two important and typical pieces, *The Sufferings of Timarion* and *The Sojourn of Mazaris in Hades*. After an account of the

15. Members of Council shall at all times have free access to the Minutes of Meetings of the Standing Committee.

16. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

17. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined.

18. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society in a General Meeting.

19. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual General Meeting.

20. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual General Meeting.

21. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

22. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the General Meetings, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

23. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

24. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least one fortnight before the Annual Meeting.

25. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual General Meeting.

26. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual General Meeting.

27. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Standing Committee, and at their next Meeting the Committee shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

28. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £10 10s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

special circumstances which gave rise to this form of literature, the writer gave a full analysis, with extracts, of both pieces, showing their resemblance to Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*. After a discussion, in which Messrs. Gennadius, Gardner, and Myers took part,

MR. CECIL SMITH read a paper on certain Greek Vases which seemed to throw light on the costume of the Chorus in the *Birds* of Aristophanes (*Journal*, Vol. II. p. 309). On them were depicted comic figures apparently representing men dressed up as birds, with beaks, wings, crests, &c. The vase which suggested the inquiry is in the British Museum, and probably belongs to the middle of the fifth century B.C.

MR. WATKISS LLOYD'S paper on the 'Battle of Marathon' (*Journal*, Vol. II. p. 380) was taken as read in the unavoidable absence of the author.

The following dates have been fixed for the General Meetings in 1882, to be held at 22, Albemarle Street, at 4.30 on each day.

Thursday, February 14.

Thursday, April 20.

Thursday, June 15. (Annual.)

Thursday, October 19.

DONATIONS.

The following donations towards the Society's objects have been received during 1881, from

Mr. J. P. Misto, of Smyrna, £38 9s.

Mr. S. Hazzopulo, of Manchester, £5.

STATUETTE OF ATHENÈ PARTHENOS.

THE recent discovery of a copy in marble of the chryselephantine statue of Athenè Parthenos, by Pheidias, has already led to the publication of several memoirs,¹ the most recent of which by Michaelis has anticipated much that I had intended to say here. There are, however, certain points which seem to me still open to discussion. The statuette, as I have already stated in the *Academy*, is 1.05 metre, or rather more than 3 feet 4 inches high, inclusive of the base, and 93 centimeters without it. It represents the goddess armed with a helmet and aegis; her left hand rests on her shield set edgeways, her right hand advanced sustains a figure of Victory, her left leg is slightly bent, so that the weight of the body rests on the right leg. The goddess is clad in a talaric *chiton*, without sleeves, over which is an upper fold or garment falling in rich *pteryges* down the right side.

On her arms, bare to the shoulders, are armlets, on her neck a necklace of beads; her helmet, which fits close to the head and covers the nape of the neck, is surmounted by a tall triple crest, below which is a Sphinx flanked on either side by a winged horse.² The helmet has cheek-pieces, *paragnathides*,

¹ Michaelis, *Eine neue Copie der Parthenos des Phidias*; Kabbadias, *Ἀθηνᾶ, ἡ παρὰ τὸ Βασιλειον εὑρεθείσα*, Athens, 1881; A. Hauvette-Besnault, *Statue d'Athènes in Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Jan. 1881, pp. 54—63; Lange in *Mittheil. d. deutsch. Inst. in Athen*, 1880, pp. 370—79; also

my remarks, *Academy*, Feb. 12, 1881.

² Hauvette-Besnault, following Pausanias, calls these Gryphons, but Lange says positively that they are winged horses, and this is confirmed by the evidence of the silver tetradrachms of Herakles, probably of Ionia.

turned back on hinges. A Gorgon's head ornaments the centre of the aegis and also the centre of the shield. Within the concave of the shield the serpent which Pausanias supposed to be Erichthonios is coiled; the Nikè, who holds out some object in both hands, is half turned towards the goddess.¹

The statuette is of Pentelic marble, and on its discovery shewed here and there traces of gilding. The right arm is supported by a pillar, the base on which the figure stands is plain.

On comparing the statuette with the description in Pausanias and in Pliny² we see a very satisfactory coincidence in most of the details. But the following features in the original design are wanting: the spear in the left hand of the goddess; the battle of Greeks and Amazons on the outside, and the Gigantomachia on the inside of her shield; the relief on the base representing the Birth of Pandora; the battles of Lapiths and Centaurs on the soles of the sandals.

I have already pointed out in the *Academy* that several of these missing details may be supplied by comparing the rude little marble figure, discovered at Athens by Charles Lenormant many years ago, with the fragment of shield formerly belonging to Lord Strangford, and now in the British Museum. On the base of the Lenormant statuette, the Birth of Pandora is indicated by a series of rudely executed figures, and on the outside of the Strangford shield the Amazonomachia is very clearly represented. For the spear in the left hand of Athenè we must look to the smaller representations of the chryselephantine statue on Athenian coins and reliefs (see Michaelis, *Parthenon*, Pl. XV.).

The column below the right hand of the goddess, which we find associated with the newly-discovered statue, is an unwelcome addition to the composition which I feel very reluctant to recognize as a feature in the original design of Pheidias; such an adjunct seems a very clumsy expedient and unworthy of his genius. It is true that such a support to the arm of the goddess is found on an Athenian relief published by Bötticher (see

¹ According to M. Hauvette-Besnault it is probable that the object held in the hands of the Victory was a sort of wreath. Michaelis (*Parthenon*, p. 275, and p. 358 of his recent Memoir) regards it as certainly a sash;

but see Köhler, in the *Mittheilungen d. deutsch. Arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1880, pp. 95-96.

² See these passages, Michaelis, *Parthenon*, pp. 266-270; and Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*.



Michaelis, Pl. xv., fig. 7), but on the other reliefs, and on coins which represent the Athenè Parthenos, the arm is left free in mid-air.

Michaelis, in his recent memoir, argues that such a support may have been necessary on account of the great weight of the Victory, which is calculated to have been 4 cubits, or about 6 feet high, and which he assumes to have been, like the goddess, of gold and ivory. But I am not aware that any ancient author tells us of what material the Victory was formed, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary I think we are justified in assuming that this figure was cast either in gold, or in some other metal gilt. This material would, I conceive, be much lighter than chryselephantine work with its inner core of wood.

Michaelis says, the weight to be sustained would have required a structure in iron such as would now be used. But why should not the ancients, who were most skilful metallurgists, have had within the chryselephantine arm of the goddess a bar of copper or wrought iron, bent at the elbow, and affording a support quite independent of the outer casing of wood on which the ivory was attached? Such a bar would be what in the language of modern architecture is called a cantilever, and its upper extremity could have been securely attached to the inner frame or skeleton of the statue.

The position of the left hand resting on the shield corresponds with that of the Lenormant statuette, and if the action of the fingers is faithfully rendered, it is not clear how the spear could have been held in this hand. It may be that the spear was held between the thumb and first finger, while the other fingers rested on the edge of the shield. This would be more in accordance with the statement of Ampelius (*Lib. Mem.* 8, 5) in describing the original, *cujus ad sinistram clipeus appositus quem digito tangit*. He also states that the spear was made of reed, *de gramine*. This was probably gilt. On the late silver tetradrachms of Athens, on the copper coins of Amisus in Pontus, on the celebrated Aspasios gem in the Vienna cabinet, and on other gems in the British Museum, and elsewhere, the front of the helmet is ornamented with a row of projecting horses' heads. Of these there is no trace in the newly-discovered statuette, and Michaelis (*Parthenon*, p. 272) appears to reject

this ornament as if it interfered with the simplicity of the original design. Yet it is difficult to believe that it was not part of the decoration of the helmet at the date when the coins on which it appears were struck, and we have no evidence that any later addition was made to the design of Pheidias.

From p. 8 of the memoir by Mr. Kabbadias, already referred to, it appears that the Pentelic marble of this statuette was highly polished in the nude parts of the figure. This treatment is characteristic of the period of the Antonines to which I should be disposed to refer this copy, if it is not even later.¹ Mr. Kabbadias further notes the following traces of colour: the eyelids of the goddess and the white of her eyes have been painted red, the circle of the iris marked by a red line, the pupil blue. The hair he describes as falling down the back in a thick club of tresses symmetrically arranged after the archaic manner. Traces of yellow colour are visible on the tresses falling over the aegis. The same colour is visible on the little curls on the temples. The eyebrows of the Gorgon's head on the aegis are painted red, the sphinx on the helmet has traces of yellow colour in the hair, and of red and blue in the eyes; the crest is red; the serpent has traces of yellow all over its body, the Gorgon's head on the shield has traces of red about the wings and serpents.

The manifest incapacity of the Roman sculptor to transmit in his mechanical copy the essential qualities of the original masterpiece, makes it very difficult to recognize any trace of the style of Pheidias in the newly-discovered statuette; in which the original breadth and simplicity of treatment have degenerated into ignoble baldness and emptiness, and the majestic calm of the countenance has been translated into a wooden and meaningless mask.

We have, however, gained much from this discovery, which tells us not only the general features of the design, but enables us to judge more exactly what were the relative proportions of gold and ivory surfaces in the figure of the goddess. It is interesting to note how nearly the restoration given by Flaxman in his lectures on sculpture approximates to the truth. The correspondence between the height of the statuette with its

¹ See the bust of Antoninus Pius, *Guide to Græco-Roman Sculptures*, found at Cyrene, in the British Museum. No. 24.

base, 39 inches, with the 12 metres = 39 feet, which Michaelis (*Parthenon*, p. 272) calculates to have been the probable height of the original, inclusive of its base, suggests the idea, that the Roman copy was reduced on the scale of an inch to a foot. I throw out this suggestion for further examination, observing *obiter*, that Michaelis in his recent memoir, p. 356, thinks that the proportion of height which the base in the Lenormant statuette bears to the figure, viz., a sixth, is more likely to be right than in the newly-discovered copy. It will be interesting if further exploration of the site where this statuette was found, should confirm the suggestion that in the Roman period a private house stood here, and that the newly-discovered statuette had been dedicated in a *sacrarium* (see Schömann, *Griechische Alterthümer*, ii. pp. 525-6).¹

C. T. NEWTON.

¹ Since this paper was printed I have seen, in the Museum at Turin, a bronze figure of Athenè about two feet high, which corresponds in attire, in general pose, and in the action of both hands,

with the statuette here described. The shield, spear, and Victory are wanting, but these, being of bronze, may have perished. This figure was found in Piedmont.

HOMERIC AND HELLENIC ILIUM.

DR. SCHLIEMANN has proved that Hissarlik was a seat of human habitation from a prehistoric age. This has not been proved for any other place which could claim to be the site of Homeric Troy. Assuming that 'the tale of Troy' is founded on a central fact—i.e., that a very old town, placed as the *Iliad* roughly indicates, was once besieged and taken—the claim of Hissarlik to be the site of that town is now both definite and unique. Thus far, Dr. Schliemann's argument is unanswerable. It is not my purpose to discuss here the further questions which arise as to the relation of his discoveries to places or objects described in the *Iliad*. The subject of which I would speak is historical rather than strictly archæological, yet one which, within certain limits, has a distinct bearing on Dr. Schliemann's results.

What was the belief of the ancient Greeks as to the site of Homeric Troy? And, in particular, how did they generally regard the claim of the Greek Ilium (at Hissarlik) to be considered as occupying the Homeric site?

The view of these questions taken in *Troy* and *Ilios* cannot, I think, be altogether reconciled with the evidence of ancient literature. Dr. Schliemann has given so many proofs of his desire for a full and candid examination of everything which relates to Troy, that no further apology is needed for indicating the respects in which I am unable to agree with his treatment of this topic. His general conclusions, it may be said at once, are not, in my opinion, affected thereby. The difference, as will be seen, is rather in the nature of the significance which the ancient tradition assumes relatively to his discoveries.

Dr. Schliemann, it will be remembered, identifies Homeric

Ilios with certain ruined buildings of slightly baked bricks, which exhibit the action of intense heat. It is inferred that the town to which they belonged had been destroyed by fire, which the wind drove from S.W. to N.E., thus sparing the S.E. corner. The inhabitants of the Greek Ilium alleged that the Trojan Ilium had not been completely destroyed when the Achaeans took it, and had never ceased to be inhabited. Dr. Schliemann is disposed to accept this view. 'The form of the strata of the burnt *débris* indicates that after the great conflagration, the inhabitants continued to go in and out at the same place as before' (p. 519). At the same time he thinks it more probable that the city which succeeded to the burnt city was inhabited by a different people (p. 520). The value of the local tradition at the Greek Ilium must be estimated with reference to other statements for which it is responsible. The Greek Ilians could point, on their acropolis, to the very altar of Zeus Herkeios at which Priam had been slain: they could show the panoplies of Trojan heroes, the lyre of Paris, and the stone on which Palamedes had taught the Greeks to play at dice.¹ As Dr. Schliemann well observes: 'They were so totally ignorant of archaeology that they took it as an undoubted fact that the Trojans had walked on the very same surface of the soil as themselves, and that the buildings they showed were all that remained of the ancient city' (p. 211). The remains of the Greek Ilium cease, according to Dr. Schliemann, at about six feet below the surface; and the remains of three other prehistoric settlements then intervene before we reach the remains of the burnt city at a depth of 22—33 feet.

The tradition of the Greek Ilians as to the unbroken habitation of the Trojan site cannot, then, have rested on the evidence of the brick-built remains which the fire had spared. Obviously this legend was nothing more than a device of local guides, to explain what would otherwise have been puzzling indeed—how it was that they could still show the Trojan altar of Zeus Herkeios, &c. In the belief of the ancient world, Trojan Ilium had ceased to be inhabited when it was sacked by the Achaeans, and its site had ever afterwards remained desolate. This was not an accidental detail of the ancient tradition, but a

¹ Arrian i. 11; Plutarch, *Alex.* 15; Polemon Iliensis in Müller, *Frag. Hist.* ii. 124.

capital and essential feature. If so much of the Trojan Ilium had been spared that the old inhabitants could continue to occupy it, the ten years' siege would, in the feeling of the old world, have ended with an abject anti-climax. The gods who had fought for the Achaeans would have been robbed of their due triumph over the gods who had fought for the Trojans. The victory of Achaean over Trojan would have been stripped of that signal and monumental significance which made it thenceforth for ever an ineffaceable landmark in the heroic past of Greece, the trophy of a tremendous wrestling-bout in which Asia had been thrown by Europe, worthy to be avenged—as in the conception of Herodotus it was—by an invasion in which the whole forces of the Great King should be hurled against the sons of Agamemnon and Achilles. The standard of modern chivalry must not be applied to the religious ruthlessness of Homeric war: the *Iliad* itself describes the fate 'of folk whose town is taken'; how swords slay the men, fire devours the town, strangers lead away the children and the deep-girded women.¹ When Aeschylus, Euripides, Virgil, Horace, Lucan, portray the destruction of Troy almost as Hebrew prophecy pictures the desolation of Tyre, they are not using a poetical freedom, but expressing the fixed belief of antiquity. They are merely so many witnesses of a tradition which, however it might fluctuate in details, was on this point inflexible. Their position was analogous to that of a poet who should dramatise a great episode from the Historical Books of the Old Testament. If the subject of such a dramatist were the capture of Jericho by the Israelites, he might perhaps dare to modify or invent minor circumstances; but he could not tamper with the catastrophe. He could not depart from the record that, when the people heard the sound of the trumpet, and shouted with a great shout, the wall fell down flat; that the conquerors utterly destroyed all that was in the city with the edge of the sword; that they burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein, save only the silver and the gold and the vessels of brass and of iron. Not much acceptance could be expected for a version which represented the household of Rahab as merely part of a Canaanite residuum which, after the capture,

¹ *Il.* ix. 593, where it should be observed that *πέλει . . . ἀλφει* describe the usual, the normal consequences of capture by storm.

continued to inhabit a quarter of the town that had escaped the conflagration.

The point on which I here insist is that the notion of Homeric Ilium having continued to be inhabited, without any break in consequence of its capture by the Achaeans, is utterly at variance with the fundamental idea and the whole spirit of the tradition, and is not simply a divergence from it in a matter of detail. This will come out still more clearly on reference to some of the passages in which the destruction of Troy is incidentally noticed by prose-writers.

Strabo says¹:—‘No trace of the ancient city (of Ilium) remains. This is natural; the towns of the neighbourhood were sacked, indeed, but not utterly destroyed, whereas Troy was razed to its foundations; and all its stones were then removed for the purpose of repairing the other towns. Thus it is stated (*φασί*) that Archaeanax of Mitylene fortified Sigeum with stones brought thence.’

As expressions similar to *φασί* occur more than once in Strabo’s notices of Ilium, it is well to bear in mind what they imply. In discussing the date of the *Θηρίκλειοι κύλικες*, Bentley quoted Athenaeus, XI. p. 470 F, *κατασκευάσαι δὲ λέγεται τὴν κύλικα ταύτην Θηρικλῆς, . . . γεγονὼς τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν Ἀριστοφάνη*. His critics objected:—‘The author says, *λέγεται*, “is said, is reported”; which is an expression of mistrust, and that he was not satisfied of the truth of the report.’ Bentley answered that *λέγεται* and the like phrases are used when a statement is found in several writers, to avoid enumerating them by name; when there is only one authority, he is usually named. Thus Diogenes Laertius has: ‘It is said that, when Pythagoras bared his thigh, it was seen to be gold.’² The phrase indicates, not a doubt felt by Laertius,

¹ XIII. § 38; οὐδὲν δ’ ἔχρος σάζεται τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως. εἰκότως ἄγε γὰρ ἐκπεπορημένων τῶν κύκλῳ πόλεων, οὐ τελείως δὲ κατασπασμένων, ταύτης δ’ ἐκ βλάβων ἀνατετραμμένης, οἱ λίθοι πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀνάληψιν μετηνέχθησαν. Ἀρχαῖδινακτα γοῦν φασὶ τὸν Μιτυληναῖον ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν λίθων τὸ Σίγειον τειχίσαι.

² This is Bentley’s illustration, and (quoting perhaps from memory) he gives the phrase of Laertius as *λέγεται*. It is, in fact, *λόγος*, *Pythag.* § 11;

λόγος δὲ ποῖ αὐτοῦ παραγυμνωθέντος τὸν μηρὸν δρῆσθαι χρυσοῦν. In this context, however, that does not affect his argument, for the statement is in close dependence on a preceding one, introduced by *λέγεται*: καὶ γὰρ καὶ σεμνοπρεπέστατος λέγεται γενέσθαι καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ δόξαν εἶχον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὥς εἴη Ἀπόλλων ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἀφικόμενος. And presently Timaeus is named in reference to a particular detail which he alone (it would seem) recorded (*ib.* § 11).

but the occurrence of the same story in several other writers, as Apollonius, Plutarch, Lucian, Aelian, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Ammianus. Similarly, when Strabo says *φασί*, we may be sure that he had in view several authorities. And presently he actually mentions two of the writers who had noticed the tradition of Sigeum being fortified with stones brought from the site of Ilium, though we are not told whether either of them mentioned Archaeanax. The historian Timaeus (circ. 260 B.C.) attributed that work to Periander of Corinth. Demetrius of Scepsis had challenged the statement, saying that the fortifications had been erected by the Mityleneans, but not with stones from Ilium.¹ The source of the error made by Timaeus in regard to Periander is manifest; Periander had been the arbitrator to whom the Athenians and Mityleneans ultimately agreed to refer their dispute about Sigeum²; and Timaeus had confused him with Archaeanax or some other ally who had actively befriended the Mityleneans in the previous struggle. The date of this contest was about 620 B.C.

It appears, then, that in an ancient tradition, followed by Timaeus and by those writers who spoke of Archaeanax, Homer's Troy was conceived as having been, at that time, a deserted site, marked by some mixed remains or scattered stones, from which material could be obtained for building in the neighbourhood. In another place Strabo's testimony is yet more explicit. After arguing that the alleged identity of the Greek with the Homeric Ilium may be refuted from Homer himself, he adds; *ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι τὸν ἀφανισμόν τῆς πόλεως, ὃν ἔστι καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὁ ῥήτωρ*, 'later (i.e. post-Homeric) writers, too, admit the effacement of the (Homeric) city; among whom is the orator *Lycurgus*' (to whose evidence we shall come presently). And further: *εἰκάζουσι δὲ τοὺς ὕστερον ἀνακτίσαι διανοομένους οἰωνίσασθαι τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον, εἴτε διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς εἴτε καὶ καταρασαμένου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κατὰ παλαιὸν ἔθος*: 'It is conjectured that the men of a later time, when they thought of making a new settlement, shunned that spot (the site of Homeric Troy) as ill-omened,—either because of its disasters, or because

¹ Strabo XIII. § 39.

terms the arbitration a *δίκη*, over

² Herod. v. 95. Diog. Laertius, which Periander presided (i. iv. 74).
quoting the *Χρονικὴ* of Apollodorus,

Agamemnon 'cursed it, after an ancient custom'—as Croesus, when he took Sidene, the refuge of Glaucias, was said to have denounced a curse against those who should build again on that spot. What was said above of *φασίν* applies to *εικάζουσι* here.¹

We will next turn to Pausanias. In Phocis there was an ancient town called Ledon, which at this time (circ. 160 A.D.) had long been deserted. A small village, however, of some seventy inhabitants, existed on the banks of the Cephissus, about five miles above 'the ruins of the ancient Ledon' (*Λέδοντος τῆς ἀρχαίας τὰ ἑρείπια*), and still called itself by the name of Ledon. Here is an exact and most curious parallel to the case of the *Ἰλίων κόμη*, if (as I hold Dr. Schliemann to have proved) its site at Akshi-Kioi has *not* any such claim to be the site of Homeric Troy as can be advanced for Hissarlik. The analogy may perhaps have been present to the mind of Pausanias, when he added the following comment on the fate of Ledon:—'Irreparable disaster has befallen other cities also through the guilt of their own citizens. Thus Ilium was plunged in utter destruction through the outrage of Paris on Menelaus; Miletus, through the readiness of Histiaeus to obey his desires,' &c.² The words *ἐς τελέαν ἀπώλειαν ὄλισθον*, with reference to Troy, cannot be explained as being, in the sense of Pausanias, merely a rhetorical hyperbole for 'severe disaster': they would, in this connection, have no point, unless the fate of Troy had been, in his conception, like the fate of Ledon; that is, unless Troy had been made, and had remained, desolate.

But, it may be said, Pausanias and Strabo are late writers; Timaeus, even if his authority could be very highly rated, scarcely carries us back to the close of the 'classical' age. Apart from the poets, is there any proof of a distinct belief as to the fate of Homeric Troy existing at an earlier period among men who had access to the most authentic and copious sources of early Greek tradition, and whose attitude towards such tradition was likely to be one, not of passive credence,

¹ Strabo XIII. §§ 41, 42.

² Pausani. x. 33 § 2: *κακῶν δὲ ἀπέλαυσαν μὲν ἀνιάτων καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις δι' ἀδικίαν ἐπιχωρίων ἀνδρῶν, ἐς τελέαν*

δὲ ἀπώλειαν ὄλισθον Ἴλιον μὲν διὰ τὴν ἐς Μενέλαον ὕβριν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Μιλήσιοι δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας Ἑστιάου πρόχειρον, κ.τ.λ.

such as obtains among the multitude, but of intelligent criticism?

When the origin of government is being discussed between Plato's Cleinias and the Athenian stranger, the latter suggests a superior limit of historical retrospect. That there has been a progress, is certain. It is manifest that, for thousands of years, the arts were unknown. Nay, we can be more definite. We may affirm that not more than a thousand, or two thousand, years have elapsed since Daedalus first made images to live and breathe, since Palamedes invented resources of utility or pastime, since Amphion discovered the lyre, since poetry and music were developed by Orpheus, Marsyas, and Olympus. Let us take, he says, a rapid survey of the successive forms which political civilisation has assumed from the earliest point at which a view can be obtained. Such a point is afforded, he continues, by the Deluge. The subsidence of the waters revealed an illimitable desert. The organisation of society had to recommence from its first elements. The arts had perished in the universal shipwreck; and it would be necessary that many generations should elapse before they could revive with the slow growth of the human race. War and faction had expired,—for the time; legislation had not yet been born anew. But, meanwhile, there must already have been that form of government in which each man is lord of his own house. Such a *δυναστεία*—not unknown, says the Athenian, in our own day among Greeks and barbarians—is ascribed by Homer to the Cyclopes. They 'dwell in hollow rocks on the crests of the high mountains.' 'They have neither gatherings for council nor oracles of law': 'each one utters the law to his children and his wives, and they reckon not one of another.'¹ The second stage was when primitive men, descending from their fastnesses, formed larger settlements at the foot of the hills, raised enclosures of loose walls to keep off wild beasts, and began to engage in husbandry. This second phase, again, is mirrored by Homer, when he says that the town of Dardania was founded by Dardanus at a time when his subjects 'still dwelt on the skirts of many-fountained Ida.' The third stage is marked by the same passage. 'Sacred Ilios (the city of Ilus, which

¹ *Od.* ix. 112.

succeeded to that of Dardanus), had not yet been founded in the plain.¹ The site of Ilium, says Plato's Athenian, was *in a large and fair plain, on a hill of no great height*, watered by several rivers that descend from Ida.²

I may remark in passing that, if Plato had wished to indicate Hissarlik as distinguished from Bunarbashi, he could scarcely have described it better; and it is somewhat surprising that no advocate of Dr. Schliemann's views has (so far as I know) quoted this comment of Plato on the simple *ἐν πεδίῳ* of the *Iliad*.

Thus the Homeric Ilios represents, for Plato, a third degree of progress,—a maturer, a more properly political, form of monarchy, as distinguished (1) from the 'aristocracy, or perhaps monarchy' of such a city as Dardania—which he conceives as little more than a mechanical aggregate of separate house *δυναστεῖαι*: (2) from the primitive house *δυναστεῖαι* of the 'Cyclopes' in the *Odyssey*. Now, if there had been any record of a stage in the political history of Ilios subsequent to the Achæan siege, this might naturally have been noticed. But the Athenian proceeds: 'The Achæans remained some ten years, and made Troy desolate.'³ If the historical development of government is to be traced further, we must, he says, change

¹ *Il.* xx. 216:

κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην· ἐπεὶ οὕτω
Ἴλιος ἱρή
ἐν πεδίῳ πεπóλιστο, πόλις μερόπων
ἀνθρώπων,
ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὕπερας φέρον πολυπίδακος
Ἰδης.

Strabo (with Demetrius of Scepsis) placed the site of Troy at the 'Ιλιέων κάμῳ (Akahi-Kioi), which is some three or four miles nearer Ida than Hissarlik, and does not so obviously answer to *ἐν πεδίῳ* as distinguished from the *ὑπερεῖαι*. He remarks, accordingly, that the σῆμα Ἴλου was probably erected in the middle of the Trojan plain to commemorate the boldness of Ilus in first taking such a site for a town; but that, in point of fact, Ilus had not been so very courageous after all—οὐδ' οὗτος δὲ τελέως ἐθάρρησεν—but had shown a lingering tendency to cling to the skirts of the hills. This is

certainly a good point in favour of Hissarlik; and we can see that Strabo felt it (*xiii.* § 25).

² Plato, *Laws* 682 B.: κατωκίσθη δὲ, φαμέν, ἐκ τῶν ὕψηλῶν εἰς μέγα τε καὶ καλὸν πεδίον Ἴλιον, ἐπὶ λόφον τινὰ οὐχ ὕψηλόν καὶ ἔχοντα ποταμούς πολλοὺς ἀνωθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰδης ὠρμημένους.

³ *L.c.* 682 D.: δέκα δ' ἔτη που μέναντες Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν. Cp. 683 A. ἐθεασάμεθα πρῶτην τε (the primitive *δυναστεία*) καὶ δευτέραν (Dardania) καὶ τρίτην πόλιν (Troy), ἀλλήλων, ὥς οἰόμεθα, ταῖς κατοικίσεσιν ἔχόμενας ἐν χρόνῳ τινὸς μήκεσιν ἀπλέτοις ('succeeding each other, in order of foundation, as we believe, at vast, though indeterminate, intervals'). νῦν δὲ δὴ τετάρτη τις ἡμῖν αὕτη πόλις (Sparta). This serves to bring out the idea of the passage—that the capture of Troy closes a chapter.

the scene, and trace it in the history of Sparta. Clearly Plato knew, or accepted, no tradition other than that of Greece at large—that the story of Homeric Troy was closed when the captors made it ‘desolate.’

The term *ἀνάστας*, which is employed here and with which we shall presently meet again in the same connection, has a definite and forcible import. In its primary sense, ‘caused to rise up,’ it is applied to a displaced population, as Isocr. *Panegy.* § 108, τοὺς ὁμόρους ἀναστάτους ποιήσαντες. When said figuratively of a city, it denotes not merely the destruction of buildings, but the expulsion of the inhabitants,—the cessation, final or for a period, of political existence on that spot. Thus it is applied to the condition of Athens when deserted by its inhabitants and occupied by the destroying host of Xerxes (Isocr. *Panegy.* § 98, and again *Archid.* § 43); to the destruction of Thespieae and Plataea and the expulsion of their inhabitants by the Thebans (*ib.* § 27); to the complete breaking up of Mantinea by Agesipolis in 383 B.C., when the population was distributed into villages (*Panegy.* § 126),—an act which the same writer elsewhere expresses by the words *Μαντινέας δὲ διέφκισαν* (*De Pace*, § 100), as Xenophon says (*Hellen.* v. 2, 7) *διέφκισθη ἡ Μαντινεία*. And he describes by the same emphatic word the utter overthrow of Troy: the avengers of Menelaus ‘did not desist from war until they had made the city of the offender desolate.’¹

Enough has been adduced, I think, to prove that in the settled Greek belief of at least six centuries—from the time of Plato to that of Pausanias—Homeric Troy had been utterly destroyed, and had ceased to be inhabited. That the capture had not interrupted the occupation of the site, but had merely diminished the number of inhabitants—such a paradox takes away the breath of life from the legend, and is also in direct opposition to everything that is probable, on historical grounds, as to the character of such an event in such an age.

Before quitting this topic, however, I would invite attention to one more passage, in some respects the most remarkable of

¹ *Panegy.* § 181. καὶ τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ γενομένους μίᾳς γυναικὸς ἀρπασθείσης οὕτως ἅπαντας συνοργισθῆναι τοῖς ἀδικηθεῖσιν ὥστε μὴ πρότερον

παύσασθαι πολεμοῦντας πρὶν τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν τοῦ τολμήσαντος ἑξαμαρτεῖν.

all, if regard is had to the qualities of the speaker, and to the known circumstances of the time at which he spoke. The Athenian orator Lycurgus is impeaching a citizen named Leocrates, who in 338 B.C. had fled from Athens on the day which brought the terrible tidings of Philip's victory at Chaeroneia. The form of the accusation was an indictment for treason (*εἰσαγγελία προδοσίας*), and Lycurgus anticipates the objection that the flight of Leocrates was not 'treason' in the ordinary acceptation of the term. Leocrates had done nothing to put the enemy in possession of arsenal, or camp, or city-gate. Nay, replies Lycurgus, but such an act as his is the gravest betrayal of all: so far as it goes, it tends not merely to enslave the city, but to render it uninhabited (*δοίκετον*). To be deserted by its inhabitants—this is, for a city, what death is to the human body: *πόλεώς ἐστι θάνατος ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι*. 'And here,' he says, 'is the best proof. Our city was enslaved of old by the tyrants, and later by the Thirty, when its walls were demolished by the Lacedaemonians; yet, after both those ordeals, we were set free, and were found worthy to watch over the prosperity of Greece. But not so has it been with any city that has ever been made desolate (*ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅσαι πώποτ' ἀνάστατοι γεγόνασι*). Thus—to take an instance somewhat remote, indeed, from our own day—who has not heard of Troy, how it had become the greatest city of its time, the mistress of Asia, and how, *since the day when it was demolished once for all by the Greeks, it has been left uninhabited through the ages?* And who does not know that five hundred years elapsed before a population—none of the choicest—could again be assembled within the walls of Messene?'¹

¹ In *Leocratem*, §§ 61 f. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον· ἡμῶν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων ἐδουλώθη, τὸ δ' ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα, καὶ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ τείχη καθρέθη· καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἡμᾶς ἀμφοτέρων ἡλευθερώθημεν καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐδαιμονίας ἡξιώθημεν προστάται γενέσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅσαι πώποτ' ἀνάστατοι γεγόνασι. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, εἰ καὶ παλαιότερον εἰπεῖν ἐστι, τὴν Τροίαν τίς οὐκ ἀκήκοεν, ὅτι μεγίστη γεγενημένη τῶν τότε πόλεων καὶ πάσης ἐπάρχασα τῆς Ἀσίας, ὡς ἅπαξ ὑπὸ τῶν

Ἑλλήνων κατεσκάφη, τὸν αἰῶνα δοικητός ἐστι; τοῦτο δὲ Μεσσήνην πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων συνοικισθεῖσαν; It is perhaps scarcely necessary to remark that the particular bearing of this passage on the question of Troy remains the same, whether we admit or dispute the speaker's general proposition, that no city, once made *ἀνάστατος*, had recovered its former prosperity. We have seen that *ἀνάστατος* could be rhetorically applied to Athens when

The probable limits of date for this speech of Lycurgus fall within the years 332—330 B.C. The restoration of Messene, to which he alludes, had been decreed by Epameinondas about forty years before, in 370 B.C. A modern traveller, when he stands on Mount Ithome and looks down on the line of grey walls and dismantled towers, massive in ruin, winding over the Messenian fields to the west, can still imagine something of the effect which that restoration produced in its own day, and which finds contemporary expression in the spirited *Archidamus* of Isocrates (366 B.C.). The desolation of Messene during so many centuries afforded an admirable illustration to Lycurgus, rather enhanced than diminished by the fact that old men could remember the time when the new Messene had arisen on that deserted site.

But the site of Troy, says Lycurgus, has remained desolate to the hour at which he speaks. Now we will suppose that there is some rhetorical exaggeration here; that a village, or it may be a petty town, existed at that time on the reputed site of Homeric Ilium; and that the orator did not necessarily mean more than that the existence of Troy as a great city had been finally closed when the Achaeans sacked it. On this hypothesis we shall, indeed, be compelled to admit that the inaccuracy of his language is as remarkable as its emphasis; especially when we consider the apparent precision with which he discriminates the case of Troy from that of Messene. But what if this village or petty town on the reputed site of Troy had then recently been erected into a city, had been embellished with buildings, endowed with signal honours and privileges? And what if all this had been done on an occasion the most impressive that could have been found in the eyes of the whole Hellenic race, by the command of a man whose every word was then awaited with breathless anxiety by Greece, and especially by Athens—whose slightest personal or political act was a theme of debate or gossip for every council-chamber or gymnasium, as being the act of one

temporarily abandoned by its citizens to the Persians (Isocr. *Panegy.* § 98). Mantinea, made *dvōratos* in 383 B.C. (*ib.* § 126), more than regained its former strength when rebuilt after the battle of Leuctra. But the context is decisive. Lycurgus intends the

utter destruction of a very powerful city, such as he conceives Troy; Nineveh would be another example in his sense. And, in all cases, *dvōratos* implies a definite breach of continuity in political existence.

who held in his hands the destinies of the Hellenic world? Could the grave statesman have then told a large tribunal of Athenian citizens that, while Messene had long been desolate before it was restored forty years ago, the site of Troy had remained uninhabited *to that day*?

The speech may be referred, we saw, to 332—330 B.C. The battle of the Granicus was fought in 334 B.C. Before it, on landing in the Troad, Alexander had made his pious visit to the Greek Ilium. After the victory, he gave substantial proof of gratitude to the Ilia gods and heroes. Besides adorning with votive offerings the temple of Athenè Ilias, he proclaimed that the humble town of Ilium—then such as was styled a *κωμόπολις*—should henceforth enjoy the title of ‘city’; should be beautified with buildings; should be accounted ‘free,’ and ‘exempt from imposts.’¹ The degree in which this event had impressed the imagination of Greece is indicated by the circumstance that, more than three hundred years later, Strabo finds it worthy of comparison with the important benefits which Augustus had conferred upon Ilium.² And this event was fresh in all men’s minds,—it was at most but four years past,—when Lycurgus spoke. The passage in his speech proves two things:—1. That in his belief, and the belief received among the Athenians who heard him, the site of Homeric Troy had since the siege remained desolate. 2. Consequently, that the Greek Ilium—which had been so lately and so impressively aggrandised—did not stand on the site of Homeric Troy.

It is interesting to observe that, personally, Lycurgus was a man likely to have been versed in what could then be known or conjectured regarding the scenes of the Iliad. It was he who had made the first recorded effort to arrest a process of corruption which was already invading the texts of the tragic dramatists. Those standard copies which afterwards passed into the library of Alexandria are ascribed to his initiative, as are also the memorial statues raised at the same period to

¹ Strabo XIII. § 26: τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἰλίων πόλιν τῶν νῦν τέως μὲν κώμην εἶναι φασὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔχουσαν τῆς Ἀθηνῶς μικρὸν καὶ εὐτελές, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἀναβάνατα μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ νίκην

ἀναθήμασι τε κοσμήσαι τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ προσαγορεύσαι πόλιν καὶ οἰκοδομῆαι ἀναλαβεῖν προστάξει τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς ἐλευθέραν τε κρίναι καὶ ἄφορον.

² l.c. § 27.

Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.¹ Such a feeling for great poetry, joined to such zeal for the accuracy of tradition, indicates a mind which would not have been negligent in comparing and sifting any theories or legends which may then have been current as to the site of Homeric Troy. When Lycurgus expressly distinguishes the continued desolation of *that* site from the long-delayed reparation of Messene, we are entitled, nay constrained, to regard this statement not as the random utterance of a heedless declaimer, but as the deliberate judgment of one for whom such questions, as touching the noblest poetical heritage of Greece, possessed a high and sacred interest. The grounds on which his statement rested may very possibly not have been such as would satisfy modern criticism; but it is at least probable that he commanded, and used not carelessly, such materials for the formation of an opinion as existed in the age of Demosthenes. And his conclusion, whether correct or not, was at any rate one which could be confidently addressed to a large body of Athenian citizens, every one of whom had lately had his attention drawn in the most striking way to the Greek Ilium, and to its pretension of local identity with the Ilios of Homer.

Taken with the evidence before cited, the passage of Lycurgus may, I think, be said to clinch the proof of the point for which I am now contending: viz., that in the general and settled belief of the ancient Greeks, including the most competent judges, Homeric Troy had been utterly destroyed, and had thereafter remained desolate.

But among the inhabitants of the Greek Ilium, as we have seen, there were dissentients from this belief, who not only maintained that their town stood on the site of Homeric Troy, but that the site had never been deserted; nay, that visible monuments of Priam's city were still among them. The question which I propose next to consider is this:—Was that theory practically confined to the Ilians themselves, or does it appear to have obtained any considerable share of support among judges presumably more impartial? Is anything known

¹ (εἰσέφηγεκε νόμον) ὡς χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι τῶν ποιητῶν, Ἀισχύλου, Σοφοκλέους, Εὐριπίδου, καὶ τὰς τραγωδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῇ γραφάμενους φυλάττειν,

καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγγράσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις, οὐκ ἐξεῖναι γὰρ ἄλλως ὑποκρίνεσθαι [Plut.] *Vitt. X. Gratt.* p. 841 f.

as to the nature of the arguments by which it was advocated or impugned, and as to the character of the authorities on either side?

As a preliminary to such an inquiry, it is necessary to glance at the history—so far as it can be ascertained—of the Greek Ilium. According to the authorities which Strabo used, the Aeolic settlement had shifted its seat more than once, before it finally took up its abode on the site represented by the mound of Hissarlik. This happened 'in the time of the Lydians,' or, more precisely, 'about the time of Croesus.'¹ Such a removal of a small settlement from one site to another was by no means unexampled in the Troad, and was one of the causes which had contributed to the confusion of topography² in that region. Thus 'Dardanus was an ancient colony, but was of so little account that the kings frequently changed its abode—at one time removing it to Abydos—at another transferring it back to its original seat.'³ Another example was Scepsis, in historical times distinguished from *Palaiscepsis*, a site about seven miles distant,—whence the town had been removed, said the legend, by Scamandrius the son of Hector and Ascanius the son of Aeneas.⁴ Let this fact be carefully noted; for it suggests how the high antiquity of the Greek Ilium as a settlement in the Troad might be reconciled with a comparatively late date for its first establishment as a town on the site of Hissarlik. And hence, supposing that the historical prototype of Homeric Troy was a town which stood at Hissarlik, the tradition that the Homeric site had remained desolate may have been derived from Aeolic legends which arose while that site still was desolate—the Aeolic settlement having then a different seat. We might accept such a date as Strabo mentions for the foundation at Hissarlik, viz. 'in the time of Croesus' (circ. 560—546 B.C.), and might still hold that an Aeolic Ilium existed elsewhere much earlier.

It is remarkable that the latest date suggested by ancient writers for the foundation of the Greek Ilium at Hissarlik should

¹ Strabo XIII. § 25. ἱστοροῦσι πλείους μεταβεβληκέναι τόπους τὴν πόλιν, ὅσατα δ' ἐνταῦθα συμμειναι κατὰ Κροῖσον μάλιστα. Cp. § 42, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀνδῶν ἡ νῦν ἐκτίσθη κατοικία καὶ τὸ ἱερόν.

² τῆς συγχύσεως τῶν τόπων: l.c. § 22.

³ l.c. § 28, πολλάκις οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ μὲν μετόκειζον αὐτὴν εἰς Ἀβυδὸν οἱ δὲ ἀνέκειζον πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἐρχαῖον κτίσμα.

⁴ l.c. § 52.

have been the reign of the last Lydian king. As this date is mentioned in connection with an argument to show that the Greek Ilium was not the Homeric, but was of recent origin, we may infer that some reason existed which precluded even the advocates of this view from going below the reign of Croesus. And the most natural account of such a reason would seem to be that the Greek Ilium preserved some well-marked traces of Lydian influence—in traits of its architecture, for instance, in some objects of art, or in some appliances of household life; or if not in these, at least in some definite and well-known traditions. Now, immediately below those remains which *alone* he would ascribe to the Greek Ilium, Dr. Schliemann found some traces of Lydian workmanship which induce him to believe that a Lydian settlement had preceded the Greek town on this site.¹ It seems unnecessary to suppose a distinct Lydian settlement, when it is remembered that the Troad is stated to have been subject to Lydia in the reign of Gyges (circ. 700—660 B.C.), and had doubtless been so from a much earlier time. The Aeolic settlement had probably been established at Hissarlik long before the reign of Croesus—the date assigned by those who sought to reduce its antiquity. A superior limit cannot, however, be assigned with any approach to precision. The Lydian kingdom, under the dynasty of the Heracleidae, existed as a neighbour of the great Assyrian Empire from about 1220 to 750 B.C. Then, like the Medes and Babylonians in the east, Lydia grew in power, and under the dynasty of the Carian Mermnadae rose, in the sixth century B.C., to be an independent empire of like rank with Media. Strabo's vaguer phrase, ἐπὶ Λυδῶν, would thus more than cover the whole period within which can be placed the epoch of the early Aeolic settlements in the Troad. We can only say, indeed, that they were probably earlier than the Dorian and Ionian colonisation of the Asiatic seaboard; that Lesbos and Cyme were the chief points from which the early Aeolic settlers worked their way inland; that stations on the coast, at such places as Assus, Antandrus, Sigeum, must have preceded the occupation of such interior sites as that at Hissarlik. Dr. Schliemann thinks that

¹ This distinct Lydian settlement was not supposed by Dr. Schliemann in his earlier work, *Troy and its*

Remains, but has been introduced for the first time in *Ilios*.

the Aeolic Ilium had been 'already long established' at Hissarlik in the ninth century B.C.¹ I am not aware of anything which can be said against that view; though (unless objects found at Hissarlik can prove it) its probability must rest on general grounds. Granting it, however, to be approximately correct, then we certainly do not need to suppose a previous Lydian settlement; the wonder is not that traces of Lydian or oriental work should be found in the remains of an Aeolic town of that age; rather it would have been surprising if they were absent.

I will now take in chronological order the chief historical notices of Ilium.

1. 480 B.C. Herod. vii. 42 f.² Xerxes, marching from Sardis to the Hellespont, visits the Trojan plain. On reaching the Scamander, 'he went up to the Pergamon of Priam, desiring to inspect it. When he had done so, and had *inquired touching all those famous things*, he sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Ilian Athene, and the magi poured drink-offerings to the heroes.' *θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ πυθόμενος κείνων ἕκαστα* : this phrase makes it clear that Ilium was already 'a show-place.' The passage by no means *proves* that the 'Pergamon of Priam' was then identified with the acropolis of the Greek Ilium; but, to my mind, it strongly suggests it: for the temple of Athene Ilias stood on that acropolis, whence Mindarus, while doing sacrifice, descried the sea-fight off Rhoeteum in 411 B.C. (Xen. *Hellen.* i. 1. § 4). The mention of the heroes is a hint that *κείνων* is not to be referred to the Pergamon alone, but includes the sites pointed out in the plain, such as the tumuli of Achilles, Patroclus, Ilus, Aesyetes, and Batieia. In later days, at any rate, the precise positions of the Homeric *φηγός* and wild fig tree were pointed out to visitors.

2. 399 B.C. Xen. *Hellen.* iii. i. 10 f. Ilium, though a walled town, appears as one of the weaker places in the Troad. The Greek towns there, with the exception of some on the sea-coast, were at this time subject to Pharnabazus, the satrap of Phrygia, forming what Xenophon calls *ἡ Φαρναβάζου Αἰολίς*. Two of the chief towns, Scepsis and Gergis, had just been seized by Meidias,

¹ *Ilios* p. 517.

² *ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη, μὲρον ἔχων θεήσασθαι*· θεησάμενος δὲ

καὶ πυθόμενος κείνων ἕκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσσε βοῦς χίλλας, χοὰς δὲ οἱ μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο.

the son-in-law of a Dardanian Greek who had been the satrap's lieutenant-governor; but the other towns were still held for Pharnabazus by Greek garrisons. Dercyllidas, arriving in command of the Lacedaemonian army, summons these towns of the Troad to surrender—offering them freedom and alliance. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νεανδρεῖς καὶ Ἰλιεῖς καὶ Κοκυλίται ἐπέειθοντο: 'Accordingly the people of Neandria, Ilium, and Cocylus complied,' their Greek garrisons being dissatisfied with their treatment by the satrap. The mention of Ilium between two such petty neighbours sufficiently shows its insignificance. Scepsis and Gergis, on the other hand, are called 'strong cities' (§ 15), the latter having 'very high towers' (§ 22): Cebren is 'a very strong place' (§ 14). In eight days the Spartan general becomes master of nine towns, and Pharnabazus makes truce. It may be noticed that both at Scepsis and at Gergis Dercyllidas sacrifices to a local *Athene* on the acropolis.¹ A passing mention by Demosthenes shows that, in 359 B.C., Ilium was still fortified. Charidemus, in breach of his compact with Artabazus, seizes Scepsis, Cebren, and Ilium—all of which seem then to have had walls capable of resisting besiegers.²

3. 334 B.C. Alexander, on landing in the Troad, visits Ilium, sacrifices to the Ilian *Athene*, and dedicates in her temple his own panoply. In its stead, he took down from the temple walls some of those consecrated arms which were said to have served in the Trojan war. These—including the 'sacred shield' known as that of Achilles—were carried before him by his esquires when he went into battle.³ He crowned and anointed the tomb of Achilles—from whose son Pyrrhus he claimed descent—and ran round it naked, with his companions: while Hephaestion paid like honours to the tomb of Patroclus. He offered sacrifice on the altar of Zeus Herkeios to the shade of Priam, deprecating

¹ Earlier in the very same year (399 B.C.) Xenophon had led the remnant of the Ten Thousand through the Troad, from Lampsacus, over Mount Ida, to Antandrus; but he does not notice Ilium: *Anab.* vii. 8 § 7. In a writer whose Homeric sympathies were so keen, the silence is significant.

² Dem. *In Aristocr.* § 154 (spoken

in 352 B.C.). Cp. Plut. *Sert.* 1.

³ Arrian, i. 12 § 7. From a later passage of Arrian (vi. 9 § 3) it appears that Peucestas, son of Alexander of Mieza in Macedonia, had the honour of bearing before the King τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσπίδα... ἣν ἐκ τοῦ νεῶς τῆς Ἀθηνῶς τῆς Ἰλιδόσος λαβὼν ἄρα οἱ εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐφέρετο ἐν ταῖς μάχασι. Cp. Plut. *Alex.* 15.

his wrath against the race of Achilles. Games were celebrated. Golden crowns were presented to Alexander by Asiatics and Greeks, as by the Athenian Chares, who then held Sigeum. Either at this first visit, or as Strabo says, after the battle of the Granicus, Alexander commanded that the poor town of Ilium should be enlarged by new buildings, and have the rank of 'city.' He declared it politically independent, and exempt from tribute. These two latter privileges—*autonomia* and *ateleia*—were conferred, as an inscription shows, on Erythrae¹ also, and were doubtless shared by other Greek towns of Ionia and Aeolis.

4. 301—281 B.C. North-western Asia Minor, from the Hellespont to Phrygia, was added to the dominions of Lysimachus by the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.). The prosperity of Ilium was still further advanced by him. He built a handsome temple of Athene, gave the city a wall of five miles in circumference, and incorporated with it some decayed towns of the neighbourhood. In doing this, Lysimachus was executing an intention of Alexander, who, after the final overthrow of the Persian Empire, had despatched a gracious letter to Ilium, promising to confer on it still ampler benefits, to make it a great city, to give it a splendid temple, and to institute sacred games.² The respect of Lysimachus for Alexander's memory is similarly seen in the fact that he gave the new name of Alexandria Troas to the city founded by Antigonos on the west coast of the Troad, and by him called Antigonias: since 'piety seemed to prescribe that the successors of Alexander should perpetuate *his* name by the founding of cities, before they recorded their own.'³

5. An inscription found at Hissarlik (and referred, on account of the form of the characters, to the time of Antigonos Doson, 229—220 B.C.) shows that in the third century B.C. Ilium was the head of a *κοινόν*, or federal league of free Greek towns, which probably comprised the district from Lampsacus on the Hellespont to Gargara on the Adramyttian Gulf. This

¹ Erythraean inscription in *Monats-berichte* of Berlin Academy (1875), p. 554. διότι ἐπὶ τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀντιγόνου αὐτόνομος ἦν καὶ ἀφορολόγητος ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, I. 233.

² [Ἀλέξανδρον φασὶ] μετὰ τὴν κατὰ-

λυσιν τῶν Περσῶν ἐπιστολὴν καταπέμψαι φιλόφρονον, ὑπὸ σφύρουσιν πόλιν τε ποιῆσαι μεγάλην καὶ ἱερὸν ἐπισημότατον καὶ ἀγῶνα ποδείξειν ἱερόν. Strabo XIII. § 26.

³ I.e. ἐκείνου πρότερον κτίζειν ἐπωνύμους πόλεις, εἰς αὐτῶν.

league had a Federal Council, *συνέδριον*, which exercised independent political powers. It appears probable that it had been formed before 306 B.C., and that Alexander had authorised this distinct organisation under the city which he had so greatly favoured, instead of incorporating the Greek cities of Aeolis with the general Hellenic *κοινόν* which had its *συνέδριον* at Corinth.¹ Another inscription, of date circ. 280—200 B.C., distinguishes the 'royal domain' (*βασιλική χώρα*) of King Antiochus in North-West Asia Minor from that belonging to the autonomous Greek cities in alliance with him, as Ilium, Scepsis, and Gergis.²

6. Twice in the third century B.C. Ilium was visited by the Gauls. In 278 B.C., or early in 277, after a successful raid on Thrace and the Chersonese, a detachment under Lutarius³ crossed the Hellespont. According to Hegesianax, a native of Alexandria Troas (flor. circ. 190 B.C.), they went to Ilium, 'desiring a stronghold,' but at once abandoned it, 'because it was unfortified.'⁴ The literal accuracy of this statement may be questioned: though it is quite possible that the Gauls may have found Ilium too weak for a fastness of marauders. Sixty years later, Attalus I. of Pergamus brought some Gauls over

¹ I do not observe any reference in *Ilios* (p. 633) to Droysen's interesting discussion of this inscription (first published by G. Hirschfeld in the *Archaeologische Zeitung*, new series, VII. (1875, p. 153); see *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, II. 2, 382.

² The inscription is a decree by which Antiochus (perhaps the Great, 222–186 B.C.) grants to one Aristodicides of Assus an extensive tract of arable land, which he is directed *προσενέγκασθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἰλίου πόλιν ἢ Σκεψίων*. This is rendered in Dr. Schliemann's *Ilios* (p. 629), 'for him to confer on the city of Ilium or on the city of Scepsis.'

But the meaning evidently is—'for him to attach to Ilium or Scepsis,' i.e. to hold under one of those cities. Antiochus wished to avoid establishing Aristodicides as independent proprietor on so large a portion of the *βασιλική χώρα* in the Troad as 2000 plethra. This would have given him a posi-

tion intermediate between that of the royal suzerain and of the autonomous towns like Ilium, and might have become the first step to a *δυναστεία*. The king therefore directs that the tenure of Aristodicides shall be civic, subject to the authorities of one or another of the larger free municipalities.

³ While the other leader, Leonnorius, returns to Byzantium; Liv. XXXVIII. 16. Strabo, on the other hand, mentions Leonnorius as *ἀρχηγὸς μάλιστα τῆς περαιώσεως* (XII. 566), and Memnon (XIX. 8) names both.

⁴ *τοὺς Γαλάτας περαιωθέντας ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀναβῆναι μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν δεομένους ἐρύματος παραχρήμα δ' ἐκλιπεῖν διὰ τὸ ἀτείχιστον*. Strab. XIII. § 27. Hegesianax, a friend of Antiochus the Great, for whom he once discharged an embassy, was both a poet and a historian; the statement in the text is referred to his work entitled *Τρωικά*. Müller, *Frag. Hist.* III. 68.

from Europe to help him in his war with Achaeus. After deserting his standard, they fell to pillaging the towns on the Hellespont, and finally besieged Ilium. The inhabitants of Alexandria Troas sent a force of four thousand men, raised the siege of Ilium, and drove the Gauls out of the Troad.¹

7. 190 B.C. At about this time Demetrius of Scepsis, then a boy, remembered Ilium to have been in a state of decay. It was, he says, 'a neglected place': the houses 'had not even roofs of tiles' (but merely of thatch).² There is not the slightest reason to doubt this. No Seleucid king appears to have taken such interest in the well-being of Ilium as was felt by Alexander and Lysimachus: while the incursions of the Gauls, and the insecure state of the Troad during the latter part of the third century B.C., would necessarily have affected the prosperity of the place. The temple on the acropolis still, of course, retained its prestige. In 192 B.C. Antiochus the Great led a fleet to the aid of the Aetolians: before sailing from the Troad, he went up from the coast to Ilion, and sacrificed to the Ilian Athene.³

8. 190 B.C. Shortly before the battle of Magnesia, which destroyed the Asiatic power of Antiochus, the Roman army crossed the Hellespont and entered the Troad. The legend of Roman descent from Aeneas was officially recognised at Rome; and it was convenient to recall it at a moment when the Roman arms were entering Asia. The townsfolk of Ilium welcomed their kinsmen with a cordiality which was doubtless sincere; and the Roman consul, Lucius Scipio, offered sacrifice to Athene on the acropolis.⁴ His brother and legate, the great Africanus,

¹ Polyb. v. 111. τῶν γὰρ Γαλατῶν ... πορθεύοντων μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ βίας τὰς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις, τὸ δὲ τελευταίον καὶ πολιορκεῖν τοὺς Ἰλίου ἐπιβαλλομένων... Θεμιστην... ἐξαποστείλαντες μετ' ἀνδρῶν τετρακισχιλίων ἔλυσαν μὲν τὴν Ἰλίου πολιορκίαν, ἐξέβαλον δ' ἐκ πάσης τῆς Τρωάδος τοὺς Γαλάτας, κ.τ.λ.

² φησὶ γοῦν Δημήτριος ὁ Σκῆψιος, μενράκιον ἐπιδημήσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς, οὕτως ὠλιγωρημένην ἰδεῖν τὴν κατοικίαν ὥστε μὴδὲ κεραμωτὰς ἔχειν τὰς στέγας. Strabo XIII. § 27.

³ 'Priusquam solveret naves, Ilium

a mari ascendit, ut Minervae sacrificaret.' Liv. XXXV. 43.

⁴ 'Inde Ilium processit, castrisque in campo, qui est subiectus moenibus, positus, in urbem arcemque [the 'Πέργαμον'] cum escendisset, sacrificavit Minervae praesidi arcis; et Iliensibus in omni rerum verborumque honore ab se oriundos Romanos praferentibus, et Romanis laetis origine sua': 'While the Ilians, with every mark of honour which act or word could express, vaunted the Ilian descent of the Romans, and the Romans exulted in that lineage.' (Liv. XXXVII. 37.) I fail to find in these terms the justifica-

lay ill just then at Elaea, the harbour of Pergamus. But for this accident, the 'Homeric' citadel where Alexander had worshipped could have boasted a like homage from the Roman conqueror of Zama. After the peace with Antiochus (189 B.C.), the Romans annexed Rhoeteum and Gergis to Ilium—'not so much in reward of recent services, as in memory of the source from which their nation sprang'.¹ The liberties of Ilium and the other Greek towns in the Troad were confirmed by Rome.

9. The subsequent history of Ilium is little more than that of Roman benefits: the Roman 'originum memoria' is henceforth the dominant note. Fimbria, indeed, took it after a siege of ten days in 85 B.C., and left ruins behind him: but Sulla presently repaired that havoc.² Augustus added territory to Ilium, and confirmed its ancient privileges.³ The Emperor Caracalla (211–217 A.D.), on his visit to Ilium, is said to have emulated Alexander the Great in the honours which he paid to the tomb of Achilles.⁴ The latest coins found at Hissarlik by Dr. Schliemann are those of Constantius II. (337–361 A.D.).

10. I must now say a few words on the most curious Greek letter of the Emperor Julian, which Dr. Schliemann reprints from the *Hermes*, vol. ix. 257–266. It was there first published, from a MS. of the fourteenth century in the Harleian Library (5610), by Dr. C. Henning.⁵ It purports to be written by Julian, after he had become emperor (i.e. in 361–363 A.D.), and to describe a visit which he had made to Ilium some years before (apparently in December 354, or September to October 355). No doubt of its authenticity is expressed by Dr. Schliemann.

tion of Ihne's comment:—'If we may judge from the style of Livy's narrative, the whole affair was a mere empty formality, in which neither the heart nor the imagination of the persons concerned was engaged' (vol. III. 153); though it may be conceded that, in these mutual protestations, the Ilians were probably more effusive than their warlike offspring. Caius Livius, the colleague of Lucius Scipio in the consulship of 190 B.C., had also visited Ilium and offered sacrifice there (Liv. xxxvii. 9).

¹ 'Iliensibus Rhoeteum et Gergithum addiderunt, non tam ob recentia ulla

merita, quam originum memoria.' Liv. xxxviii. 39.

² Appian i. 364 f. describes the destruction by Fimbria as complete: ολεώπεδον οὐδὲν αὐτῆς οὐδ' ἱερὸν οὐδ' ἄγαλμα ἔτι ἦν. Strabo xiii. § 27 says that Sulla τοὺς ἱλίας παρεμυθήσατο πολλοὺς ἐπαγορεύμασι.

³ χάραν τε δὴ προσένειμεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν ἀλειτουρησίαν αὐτοῖς συνεφέλαξε: i.e.

⁴ Dio Cassius, lxxvii. 16; Herodian, iv. 8 § 4 f.

⁵ The Greek text of the letter is given at length in *Ilios*, p. 180.

Julian describes how, on visiting Ilium, he was received by one Pegasus, who showed him over the place. This Pegasus had been 'a bishop of the Galileans'; and, says Julian, 'I would not easily have admitted him to my society, if I had not been persuaded that, *even while he seemed to be a Galilean bishop*, he had known how to worship and honour the gods. I am not now telling you mere hearsay,' Julian continues, 'gathered from persons who speak with a friendly or hostile bias,—for, indeed, I had heard a great many such stories about him, and thought (by the gods!) that he was more to be detested than any villain alive' [as a zealous Christian]. Then the emperor gives the 'facts and words' which prove the real sentiments of Pegasus. At Ilium he and Pegasus visit the herōon of Hector, where a bronze image stands in a small shrine: over against it, an image of Achilles in the open air. The fires on the altars were still burning. Sacrifice had just been done. The image of Hector had been anointed with oil. "Why do the Ilians offer these sacrifices?" I asked Pegasus, *cautiously sounding his opinions*.¹ Pegasus replies:—"What is there unnatural in their honouring a good man, their own citizen, *just as we* [Christians] *honour the martyrs*?" Then Julian proposes that they shall go to the temenos of the Ilian Athene. Pegasus is most complaisant: 'he led me thither with the greatest good-will,—opened the temple door,—and, as if calling me to witness his fidelity, showed me all the images of the gods (*ἀγάλματα*) scrupulously preserved. Nor did he do one of the things which those impious ones [*οἱ δυσσεβεῖς ἐκείνοι*—Christians] are wont to do,—as when they trace upon their foreheads the token of the impious one [make the sign of the cross]; nor, like them, did he hiss to himself' [in loathing of the gods]. Lastly, they visit the Achilleion. Pegasus—who was calumniously charged with having violated the tomb of Achilles—approached it with profound reverence. 'This,' concludes Julian, 'I saw myself. I have heard, from those who are his enemies, that he secretly makes prayer and does worship to

¹ ἐγὼ δὲ καταλαβὼν ἐμπύρους ἔτι, μικροῦ δὲ φάναι λαμπροὺς ἔτι, τοὺς βωμοὺς, καὶ λιπαρῶς ἀηλημιμένῃν τὴν τοῦ Ἑκτορος εἰκόνα, πρὸς Πηγάσιον ἀπιδὼν, τί ταῦτα, εἶπον, Ἰλιεῖς θύουσιν;

ἀποπειρώμενος ἡρέμα πῶς ἔχει γνώμη. ὁ δὲ, καὶ τί τοῦτο ἄτοπον, ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἐαυτῶν πολίτην ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, τοὺς μάρτυρας, εἰ θεραπεύουσιν;

the Sun. Now would you not have admitted my testimony, *even if I had been a private person?* Should we have made Pegasius a priest, if we had been conscious of any impiety on his part towards the gods? What if he *did* feign impiety [*i.e.* Christianity], just with his lips, in those days [*i.e.* before the pagan revival under Julian], and put on those rags,—for the real purpose, *as he often told me*, of preserving the images of the gods? Are not we (pagans) ashamed to treat him as (the Christian) Aphobius treated him, and as all the Galilaeans pray to see him treated?’

The acute reader will not now, I think, have much difficulty in divining the drift of this imperial epistle. When Julian was dead and the reaction was over, some enemy of this Pegasius (possibly a friend, too, of Aphobius or his opinions) desired to injure him, by representing him as a professed Christian who was at heart a pagan, and whose true sympathies had been plainly seen during the brief revival of paganism under Julian. ‘*Even a private person*,’ as the writer frankly remarks, might be believed on such proofs: but an emperor! And so the letter is ascribed to no less a personage than Julian himself. Observe the mention of honours paid to the tombs or relics of Christian martyrs.¹ This practice, attested as early as the beginning of the third century, was prevalent in the latter part of the fourth; and is here a token that the letter really belongs to the *age* which it claims. Pegasius must have been resident at Ilium; which, by the way, is one of several places in the Troad which Constantine Porphyrogenitus (911–959 A.D.) mentions as giving names to bishoprics.² As to the style, it is from the same mint as the letters of Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, &c. And I may observe—since the fact has not been noticed by Dr. Schliemann or any of the numerous contributors to his volume—that it is not the only letter of the kind which describes a visit to Ilium. The tenth of the letters ascribed to Aeschines

¹ The passage has been quoted above. Remark in it also how the writer is careful to mention the anointing of Hector’s image (ἀναιμάτω ἀλημιμένην)—a detail of pagan worship loathed by Christians. Regarding the honours paid to the martyrs at

this period, see the testimonies in Gibbon (c. xxviii. vol. III. p. 427, ed. Smith) from the sophist Eunapius, Caius *apud* Euseb. II. 25; Chrysostom; and Jerome *advers. Vigilantium*.

² Meyer, *Troas* p. 97; *Ilios* p. 183.

relates the adventures of a sight-seer who spent several days at that place,¹ inspecting 'the tombs,' and whose Homeric enthusiasm was such that, as he tells us, he purposed to stay until he had recited the appropriate verses of the *Iliad* at every one of the Trojan sites! The really interesting fact which these letters of 'Julian' and 'Aeschines' reveal is that, in the earlier centuries of our era, the Trojan apparatus of Ilium was still intact. The temenos of the Ilian Athene was still sacred, her temple was still adorned with statues: offerings still burned upon the altars: the tumuli of the heroes were still shown: honours were still paid to the spirits of Hector and Achilles. Then, about the end of the fourth century A.D., Ilium is lost to view in the same shades which close over Delphi, Olympia, and Delos.

The foregoing sketch has placed before the reader those facts which it is necessary to know, in order to apprehend the points of view from which the ancient world regarded the claim of the Greek Ilium to occupy the site of Homeric Troy. The question had two aspects, which must be carefully distinguished; I may call them the *political* and the *antiquarian*.

Alexander the Great solemnly recognised Ilium as the representative of Homeric Troy, possessing the very altar which had stood on Priam's citadel, the very arms which had been borne by the heroes. The Roman consul, in like manner, offered sacrifice to the Ilian Athene, and publicly acknowledged Ilium as the city of Aeneas, the metropolis of Rome. Each of these official acts had a political meaning. The Aeacid legend was, just then, of practical importance for Alexander. The Aenead legend was, just then, of practical importance for the Romans. Neither a Macedonian nor a Roman leader could have entered Asia with any title-deed so impressive in the eyes of those populations whose adhesion or antagonism was likely to turn the scale. What did it matter to Alexander whether the lyre of Paris which the Ilians showed was really the lyre of Paris

¹ διατριβόντων γὰρ ἡμῶν πολλὰς
ἡμέρας ἐν Ἰλίῳ καὶ μὴ πληρουμένων
τῆς θέας τῶν τάφων (ἦν δέ μοι γνώμη
μένειν ὥς ἅπαντα διεξέλθω τὰ ἐν τῇ
Ἰλιάδι ἔπη πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκάστοις ὑπὲρ ὧν
τὰ ἔπη ἐστὶ γεγενημένα) ἐμπίπτει ἡμέρα,

κ.τ.λ. When this letter was written, then, the trade of the local *περιηγηταί* at Ilium was still flourishing; and many traits of language (as the use of *μή*) indicate a date later than Lucian, perhaps circ. 250—400 A.D.

or not? What did the Romans care whether this or that was the precise point at which their pious ancestor had sallied forth with Anchises on his back? There was no doubt, at any rate, about the Trojan plain, Mount Ida, and the Hellespont. The descendant of Achilles, the progeny of Aeneas, felt no desire to press the Ilians with trivial or indiscreet questions; it might, indeed, have been awkward in many ways. And thus—affirmed by religious rites, military pomp, imperial favour—the sanction of two independent traditions,—each in its own day bound up with the mastery of the world,—was given to the Greek Ilium. It became the Homeric Troy—if we may be allowed the phrase—of official language and ceremonial. To deny this claim on a public occasion,—as when Augustus was decreeing favours to it, Nero speaking of it in the Forum, or Caracalla honouring it with his presence,—would have been an uncourtly and unpopular heresy. It might have been expected that the set of the vulgar tide would have had its usual influence on the private judgment of ‘independent’ and ‘original’ critics. But when we inquire what appears to have been the general verdict of presumably competent judges, the result is very remarkable.

As Strabo is our principal authority on this question, it is indispensable to consider, first of all, the nature of the sources which he appears to have used for the account of the Troad in his thirteenth book. As a native of Amaseia in Cappadocia, he may well have felt a more than ordinary interest in the geographical antiquities of Asia Minor; and nowhere else, perhaps, in his whole work is his diligence more animated than in his survey of the scenes made immortal by the *Iliad*. Elsewhere he has declared his belief that Homer is the ‘pioneer of geographical lore,’ ἀρχηγέτης τῆς γεωγραφικῆς ἐμπειρίας. Here, on the threshold of the Troad, he claims the indulgence of his readers on these special grounds: (1) the voluminous character of the materials accumulated by writers who have discussed the sites of this district; (2) the changes of population, Hellenic or barbarian, which the country has experienced; (3) the incompatibility, and occasional obscurity, of the accounts given by the numerous writers whom he has consulted—beginning with Homer, who, as he truly observes, ‘leaves room for conjecture on most points.’¹ We have not very long to wait for an

¹ Strabo XIII. § 1.

example which illustrates the meaning of this appeal. What are the boundaries of Aeolis? What is the proper meaning of 'Troia'? There is no agreement among the authorities; Strabo gives us our choice of the following¹:—

1. *Homer*, who takes the east boundary of the Troad from the Aesêpus.

2. *Eudoxus*, the geographer, of Cyzicus, whom, as he tells us himself elsewhere, Ptolemy Euergetes II. sent on a voyage to India, circ. 130 B.C. This writer slightly contracts the limit, taking it from Priapus and Artacé in the Cyzicene territory.

3. *Damastes* of Sigeum—who, if, as was said, he was a disciple of Hellanicus, must have flourished about 400 B.C.: a writer whom Strabo elsewhere blames Eratosthenes for following too implicitly. Damastes, again, further reduces the size of the Troad—taking it from Parion.

4. *Charon* of Lampsacus (who flourished perhaps about 500 B.C.) takes off another thirty-five miles or so.

5. *Scylax* of Caryanda (near Halicarnassus: flor. perhaps circ. 350 B.C.,—the reputed author of our *Περίπλους*) begins from Abydos.

6. *Ephorus* agrees with the last-named. This historian (a pupil of Isocrates) must have dealt with the Troad in the sixth book (*Ἀσία καὶ Λιβύη*) of his Hellenic, or rather Universal, History from the return of the Heracleidae to 341 B.C. 'And others,' Strabo adds, 'speak otherwise.'

This is an instance of the methodical manner in which he set to work: the authors are ranked as above,—i.e., not in order of time, but from the largest definition of the Troad to the smallest. We have seen that, when a learned Greek writer says *φασίν*, or the like, he usually has in view several particular authorities, whom he does not care to enumerate by name. With regard to Strabo's account of the Troad,—in which he frequently uses such phrases,—the inference is not merely probable but certain. In the passage just noticed, where the witnesses *differed*, it was necessary to name each; and he named no fewer than five besides Homer: Eudoxus, Damastes, Charon, Scylax, Ephorus. So in other passages of this book, where some local point is under discussion, he quotes Heracleides

¹ *Ib.* § 4.

Ponticus, Callisthenes, Timosthenes of Rhodes, the geographer Artemidorus, Posidonius of Apamea, &c. It is abundantly clear that Strabo was thoroughly conversant with the literature—voluminous, as he himself says—which dealt with the topography of the Troad.

Now we will see how he deals with the question as to the site of Homeric Troy. When a topographical question—especially concerning a famous place—is one on which weighty opinions are divided, Strabo never fails to say so. But here there is no trace of such perplexity. Strabo introduces the subject by simply saying, as if stating a generally acknowledged fact:—‘Ilus did not found his city on the present site, but about thirty stadia [about 3½ miles] further inland to the east, nearer Ida and Dardania, at what is now called the village of the Ilians. The present Ilians, however,—whose vanity prompts them to identify the existing with the ancient city—have provoked controversy on the part of those who judge from Homer’s poetry; for it is not probable that the present city was the Homeric. And others, too, [in addition to those who judge from Homer’s poetry,] relate that the city has changed its site several times, and finally took up its present site about the time of Croesus.’¹

It appears, then, that the accepted view among Homeric and historical students was *against* the claim of Ilium to be Homer’s Troy; and that this claim was regarded as springing simply from the vainglory of the Ilians. Then follows a rapid historical sketch of the Greek Ilium, based on several authorities. And then we come to the topography of the Ilian plain. The valleys of the Simois and the Scamander are briefly defined, with reference to the Greek Ilium. ‘A little further to the east,’ Strabo continues, ‘is the village of the Ilians, where it is believed (*νομίζεται*) that the ancient Ilium was situated, thirty stadia distant from the present city.’² ‘No vestige of the

¹ *Id.* § 25. οὗ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα Ἰδρυσε τὴν πόλιν ὅπου νῦν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν τι τριάκοντα σταδίοις ἀνωτέρω πρὸς ἔω καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἰδην καὶ τὴν Δαρδανίαν κατὰ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Ἰλίων κώμην (at Akshi-Kioi). οἱ δὲ νῦν Ἰλίοις φιλοδοξοῦντες καὶ θέλοντες εἶναι ταύτην τὴν παλαιὰν παρε-

σχῆκασι λόγον τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ομήρου ποιήσεως τεκμαιρομένοις· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικεν αὕτη εἶναι ἢ καθ’ Ὅμηρον. καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ ἱστοροῦσι πλείους μεταβεβλημένας τόπους τὴν πόλιν, ὅσατα δ’ ἐνταῦθα συμμεῖναι κατὰ Κροῖσον μάλιστα.

² *Id.* § 35.

ancient city is preserved':¹ though 'the present Ilians' have a story that Troy was only partially destroyed.² 'Its utter destruction is, however, allowed with one consent by the writers from Homer onwards—among others, by the orator Lycurgus.'³ And 'it is conjectured (*εικάζουσι*)' that the ancient site was thenceforth shunned as ill-omened.⁴

When we consider these phrases—*οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως τεκμαιρόμενοι—καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ ἱστοροῦσι—νομίζεται—εικάζουσι*, &c.—when we consider, further, the positive proofs given above that Strabo had before him a large number of writers on the Troad,—is it possible, I ask, to deny that Strabo's rejection of the Greek Ilium's claim to be Homeric Troy is based on the general consent of the best authorities available to him, that is, of those writers who had studied the subject, in the full light of ancient tradition and local knowledge, from the time of the earliest logographers to the age of Augustus? I maintain that it is impossible to deny it; and I venture to think that the same will be the conclusion of any reader who has taken the trouble to follow the course of the foregoing argument.

Among the numerous writers whom Strabo consulted on this subject, one was necessarily prominent, since the nature of his work had led him to investigate the question with especial minuteness. This was Demetrius, a native of Scepsis in the Troad, who, as we have seen, had been in boyhood about 190 B.C.; he is described as contemporary with his fellow-labourers on Homer, Crates and Aristarchus.⁵ Demetrius wrote a work, in thirty books, entitled *Τρωϊκὸς διάκοσμος*, *The Marshalling of the Trojans*, an exhaustive commentary on the catalogue of the Trojan forces in the second book of the *Iliad*. This work appears to have been one of the most wonderful monuments of scholarly labour which even the indefatigable erudition of the Alexandrian age produced. The most complete examination of every point which the subject raised or suggested was supported by stores of learning drawn from every province of ancient literature, from every source of oral or local tradition.

¹ *Ib.* § 38. οὐδὲν δ' ἔχρος σάζεται τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως.

² *Ib.* § 40.

³ *Ib.* § 41.

⁴ *Ib.* § 42.

⁵ *Ib.* § 55. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γεγονώς Κράτητι καὶ Ἀριστάρχῳ. He was a μειράκιον (§ 27) ὅτε πρῶτον Ρωμαῖοι τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπέβησαν: and would have been in middle life about 160-150 B.C.

Mythology, history, geography, the monographs of topographers, the observations of travellers, poetry of every age and kind, science in all its ancient branches, appear to have been laid under contribution by this encyclopaedic commentator, who must have deserved the epithet of *χαλκέντερος* almost as well as Didymus. The great reputation of his *Diacosmus* in antiquity is attested by the frequency with which it is quoted, often at length, in the most various contexts. It was, in fact, a repertory of archæological lore, and was used much as a modern student uses a dictionary of antiquities. It is quoted by the scholiasts on Homer, Pindar, and Apollonius Rhodius; by Harpocration, Suidas, Tzetzes, Stephanus Byzantinus; by Ptolemaeus, son of Hephaestion, an Alexandrian scholar in the reign of Trajan, from whose *καὶνὴ ἱστορία* Photius gives a long excerpt.¹ Athenaeus cites Demetrius, sometimes at length, on about fifteen different occasions; Strabo quotes him, not merely in reference to North-Western Asia Minor, but in seven other divisions of his work, and in more than twenty-five passages.² One or two of these will serve as specimens. In his First Book, which forms part of a general introduction to the detailed treatment of particular countries, Strabo is discussing the action of exceptional physical causes, such as deluge or earthquake, in altering the configuration of the earth's surface. Many writers, he says, have collected instances of such calamities; but it will suffice to mention the examples adduced by Demetrius of Scepsis. The *Iliad* says that the Scamander has two springs (*πηγαί*), one warm, the other cold. Demetrius had suggested that the disappearance of the warm spring might have been due to seismic disturbance, and, in illustration of this theory, had referred to recorded instances of great earthquakes in Lydia and Ionia—extending from Ionia even as far as the Troad, by which whole villages were swallowed up, Mount Sipylus rent, and lakes formed out of marshes. The calamity at Chios, which the whole civilised world is now deploring, is thus but the latest effort of the forces whose activity in precisely that region Demetrius could trace back to a prehistoric

¹ *Cod.* 190.

² A list of references to very many quotations from Demetrius is given by Müller, in the 4th volume of

the *Fragmenta Historiorum*, p. 382. Even in a voluminous special work it would have been impracticable to transcribe a fourth part of them.

past.¹ Again, in his account of Argolis, Strabo says that between Troezen and Epidaurus there was a place called Μέθαρα; but that in some MSS. [in all *our* MSS.] of Thucydides it was written Μεθώνη. Hence, Demetrius thought, it had been incorrectly substituted for the Macedonian Methone, in the legend which represented the people of the *Argolic* town as refusing ships to Agamemnon.² In describing the Elean Triphylia, again, Strabo notices that the worship of Demeter and Persephone is there in peculiarly close association with the worship of Hades. The reason, he adds, may be that which Demetrius of Scepsis suggests; Triphylia yields good crops, but it also produces the black-spined nightshade, and is subject to the red-blight.³

The general impression left by these and similar notices of Demetrius is that of a thoughtful mind, essentially critical, with considerable ingenuity, and with the power of concentrating varied knowledge on a given point. The task which Demetrius had made his own was the topographical exegesis of Homer. In that task, the first condition of success was the correct determination of the site for Homeric Troy. On this question, then, we may be quite certain that Demetrius brought to bear all the resources of his shrewdness, his learning, and his minute acquaintance with the native soil which he had known from childhood. If he failed to fix the site of Troy correctly, then his life-labour would be tainted by an irremediable vice. All his computations of distance, all his estimates of relative position for the minor localities of the Troad would be stultified by the misplacement of their centre. Yet Dr. Schliemann thinks that Demetrius deliberately chose a false site for Troy, because, as a native of Scepsis, he was too jealous of the neighbouring Greek Ilium to admit a claim which his critical conscience secretly ratified. The view of Demetrius was 'suggested by vanity.' 'He envied Ilium the honour of having been the metropolis of the Trojan kingdom.' He was actuated by 'mere jealousy and envy.'⁴ I desire to speak with

¹ Strabo i. iii. § 17.

² *Id.* viii. vi. § 15.

³ *Id.* viii. iii. § 15. From another place, x. iii. § 20, where he is quoted regarding the worship of Crete, it appears that he had made a collection

of the Cretan μῦθοι: and many other passages incidentally attest his possession of accurate knowledge founded on laborious researches.

⁴ *Troy and its Remains* (1874), p. 41 of English ed. (1875); *Ilios*, p. 168.

the greatest deference towards Dr. Schliemann; but I must confess that this hypothesis appears to me one of the most extraordinary that could be seriously advanced. There is an English saying which contemplates the possibility of a person cutting off his nose in order to spite his face; and if Demetrius indeed marred the central feature of his work for the sole purpose of exciting these pangs in his neighbours, then the town of Scepsis may claim to have produced the person who, in recorded history, has perhaps approached most nearly to that ideal of self-sacrificing malice. In rejecting the pretensions of the Ilians, Demetrius was so far from being singular, that, as Strabo shows, he was supported by the general verdict of competent ancient judges. Nor does the case stand as if Scepsis was a possible claimant of honours to be alienated from Ilium; for, wherever Homeric Troy might be placed, it could never be identified with Scepsis. And, as if kind fortune had meant to shield the Scepsian from this very charge, Strabo chances to mention elsewhere that Demetrius had already provided for the Homeric dignity of Scepsis in another way, viz., by making it the royal seat of Aeneas (*βασίλειον τοῦ Αἰνείου*), on the strength of its position relatively to Lyrnessus.¹

Strabo rapidly glances at some of the arguments derivable from the *Iliad* against the identification of the Greek Ilium with Troy: but it is to be remarked that they are introduced in connection with the current belief (*νομίζεται*), not in connection with the name of Demetrius.² The Scepsian may have used

¹ Strabo XIII. § 53. Aeneas, pursued by Achilles, flies to Lyrnessus. *Iliad* xx. 189 f.

² Strabo XIII. § 35. The arguments, which are given merely as samples, not in any wise as a complete statement of the case, are all of the class which assume the absolute topographical precision of the *Iliad*, and have no value on any other view. They turn on these points:—1. Position of Callicolonè relatively to Troy: *Iliad* xx. 53. 2. Post of the Lycians at Thymbra—too far from the Greek Ilium: *Il.* x. 430. 3. Position of the *ἐρινεὺς*: *Il.* vi. 433. 4. The *φηγός*: *Il.* ix. 354. 5. The *ναύσταθμον* near Sigeum: if the

distance from Ilium was not greater, why did not the Achaeans build a *τείχος* sooner? 6. Why did Polites, the *σκοπός*, station himself on the top of the mound of Aesyetes—which is but five stades from Ilium—when the acropolis of Ilium itself would have afforded a better view?—*Il.* ii. 792.

I must remark one very interesting point in this passage of Strabo—the parenthetical reference to a hint thrown out by Aristotle. *νεωστὶ γὰρ γεγονέναι φησὶ τὸ τείχος, ἢ οὐδ' ἐγένετο, δὲ πλάσας ποιητῆς ἠφάνισεν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν*: 'for Homer says that the wall (at the ships) was made only at a late point in the siege (or perhaps

them; but we have not Strabo's warrant for affirming that he did. One of these arguments turns on the alleged insufficiency of the distance between the Greek Ilium and the place known as the 'station of the ships' (ναύσταθμον) near Sigeum. After stating this, Strabo adds: 'And Demetrius cites as a witness Hestiaea¹ of Alexandria, the writer on Homer's *Iliad*; who inquires whether the present city is that around which the war was waged,—and with regard to the Trojan plain—placed by the poet between the city and the sea—remarks that the plain now seen before the city is a later growth of alluvial deposit from the rivers.' I entirely agree with Dr. Schliemann that the learned Hestiaea's view as to the later origin of the plain was incorrect. Mr. Frank Calvert, in his dissertation on *The Asiatic Coast of the Hellespont*, has shown that geological testimony proves the sea to have been gaining on the land, rather than the land on the sea, from a date far anterior to the beginning of historical record. Dr. Schliemann is unquestionably right in concluding that the Ilian plain has undergone no considerable change, save perhaps in its hydrography, since the Homeric age. I may remark in passing that a very interesting parallel to the theory of Hestiaea regarding the alluvial formation of the Ilian plain is supplied by the remarks of Herodotus on the alluvial extension of the Egyptian Delta. Herodotus, it will be remembered, says that 'any one with common sense' can perceive that the Delta, and indeed all Northern Egypt to a distance of three

it was never made at all, but the poet who created destroyed it, as Aristotle says').

These words are not now extant in Aristotle, but are conjecturally referred to his *Ἀπορήματα* *Ὀμηρικά*: see the Berlin edition, p. 1506 b. 44, frag. 173.

The conception implied here—that the details of the *Iliad* may have been fancy-born, without any corresponding objective realities—is of peculiar interest if it was entertained by such a man, in an age of which the Homeric creed set so decidedly in an opposite sense.

¹ Of Hestiaea, Fabricius says (after noticing this passage): 'Citatur etiam

in scholiis minoribus γ' 64, et ab Eustathio ad *Iliad*. γ'. Neuter autem ex his, ac ne Strabo quidem, Histiææ [sic] ipse scripta inspexit': *Biblioth.* ii. 5.

Harles adds (vol. i. p. 516): 'In schol. Marcianis [the Venetian scholia] cod. B. et in cod. Lips. adducitur Hestiaæ interpretatio *Iliad*. γ' 64, cur Homerus Venerem vocarit *auræam*: 'Ἐστιαῖδ φησιν [read 'Ἐστιαία φησιν] ἢ γραμματικῇ, ὅτι πέδιόν ἐστι [πεδίων ἐστὶ] χρυσοῦν καλούμενον, ἐν ᾧ χρυσὴν Ἀφροδίτην τιμᾶσθαι, καὶ εἶναι οὕτως χρυσεῖς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν: additurque *Oleanthis* expositio, ἐν Δέσβῳ οὕτως τιμᾶσθαι χρυσὴν Ἀφροδίτην. Conf. *Olearii* diss. de poetriis gr. nr. 38.'

days' voyage above Lake Moeris, is 'an acquired country, the gift of the river,'—having been either marsh or sea until the Nile laid down a soil. The fact is that the soil of the Delta coast-line rests on a bed of rock, which from a remote geological epoch must have been above the level of the Mediterranean. No sea-fossils have been found at a depth of forty feet in the Delta. Just as on the north-coast of the Troad, the sea, not the land, has been the invader along the whole line from Canopus to Pelusium.

If a writer holds an uncommon or a solitary opinion, he is usually mentioned by Strabo; whose fairness, indeed, is scarcely less remarkable than his comprehensive learning. He draws a clear line, for example, between a few subtleties of local identification, into which he declines to follow Demetrius, and those broad positions—above all, his view regarding the site of Ilium—on which he acknowledges him to speak as a master.¹ The claim of the Ilians had at least one ally outside of their own town; and Strabo does not withhold his name, though he very properly indicates the value of his testimony. Hellanicus maintained that the Greek site was the Trojan,—'favouring the Ilians,' adds Strabo, 'as is the manner of his chronicle.'

Hellanicus (circ. 482–397² B.C.) was one of those *λογογράφοι* who compiled local traditions. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has clearly marked the characteristics of these compilers—whose works were then extant—as distinguished from the more properly 'historical' writers who came after them. (1) The logographers treated the annals of cities or districts separately,

¹ No one who wishes to appreciate the real weight of Strabo's adhesion to Demetrius about Ilium ought to overlook this point. Strabo shows, in fact, the keenest feeling for the ludicrous side of Homeric name-hunting in the Troad. In *Iliad* II. 857 we read, 'Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν Ἀργείου ἐστὶ γενέθλη. To account for this, the topographers invented a place called Ἀργυρία between Polichna and Palaiscepsis. Nay, says Strabo, but where then is Ἀλύβη? 'They ought to have rubbed their foreheads, and made out that too, and not left their work to go halting and open to

reproof, when they had once hardened their hearts': ἐχρῆν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο πλάσαι παρατριφάμενους τὸ μέτωπον, καὶ μὴ χῶλιν εἶναι καὶ ἔτοιμον πρὸς ἐλεγχον ἀπαξ ἤδη ἀποτεταλμμένος.

If Demetrius sometimes errs on this side, that cannot (Strabo justly remarks) affect the weight of his main conclusions. τὰλλα δὲ ὑπολαμβάνομεν, ἢ τὰ γε πλείστα, δεῖν προσέχειν ὡς ἀνδρὶ ἐμπείρῳ καὶ ἐντοπίῳ, φροντίσαντί τε τοσοῦτον περὶ τούτων, κ.τ.λ. XIII. § 45.

² His age is discussed in Müller's *Frag. Hist.* I. xxiv. f.

without combining them into larger pictures—as Herodotus, for example, combines them. (2) Their object was to publish the records which the people of each place preserved either (i.) orally, or (ii.) in written documents, belonging (a) to the temples, or (b) to the archives of the State. (3) In publishing these, the wont of the logographers was to give the records ‘such as they received them,’ ‘adding nothing, and taking nothing away.’ Among those records ‘were also some myths which had been matters of faith from a remote past, and some theatrical episodes which appear exceedingly foolish to a later age.’¹ This perfectly agrees with the account of Thucydides, who characterises the logographers as compiling their works with a view to popular effect rather than truth, and as dealing largely with matters which could no longer be verified, having passed into the region of fable.²

Among the numerous works of Hellanicus in this kind (Βοιωτικά, Θετταλικά, Λεσβικά, Φοινικικά, etc.), was a compilation of the legends belonging to the Troad (Τρωικά). The fragments suffice to show that, as might have been expected, Hellanicus set down the *local* legends as he found them. Thus he records an ‘oracle’ given to the Trojans which directed them to abstain from ‘seafaring’ (ναυτιλία)—manifestly the local apology for inactivity in that direction.³ He is able to state that the mother of Priam was called Trymo.⁴ He mentions Πολυάρχης as a name given to Dardanus by the people of the place (οἱ ἐγχώριοι).⁵ Hellanicus was a native of Mitylene in Lesbos, which had been the earliest stronghold of Aeolic colonisation in those parts. In the seventh century B.C. Mityleneans are already established in the Troad⁶; and Strabo tells us that the Trojan territory was taken

¹ Dionys. *de Thuc.* c. 5, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάττοντες σκοποῦν, ὅσαι διεσώζοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις μνήμαι κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, εἴτ' ἐν ἱεροῖς, εἴτ' ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκείμεναι γραφαί, ταύτας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων γνῶσιν 'ξεγεγεῖν, ὅας παρέλαβον, μήτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι, μήτε ἀφαιροῦντες, ἐν αἷς καὶ μῦθοι τινες ἐνήσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πεπιστευμένοι χρόνου καὶ θαυρι- καὶ τινες περιπέτειαι, πολὺν τὸ ἡλίθιον

ἔχειν τοῖς νῦν δοκοῦσαι.

² ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνευκικότητα: Thuc. i. 21.

³ Schol. on *Iliad* v. 64.

⁴ Schol. on *Iliad* iii. 250.

⁵ Schol. on *Apoll. Rhod.* i. 916: ταῦτα ἱστορεῖ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν πρώτῳ Τρωϊκῶν. The second book is quoted by Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀγάμεια.

⁶ Strabo xiii. § 38; Her. v. 94.

away from the Mityleneans by the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War.¹ At the time when Hellanicus wrote, then, the Aeolic Greeks of Ilium and the Troad were still, as they had been from the first, in the closest relation with Mitylene. The Mitylenean Hellanicus had more, therefore, than the common motive of a logographer for adopting those local legends which were flattering to the Ilians. It would indeed have been astonishing if he had departed from his usual method of work, for the purpose of arguing that his kinsmen had no title to the honour on which the prestige of their town chiefly depended.

Several passages show the value at which his evidence was rated in such matters; it will be enough to take one of them. Strabo, in his account of Aetolia, remarks that Homer names Olenus and Pylenè as Aetolian towns. Olenus, which stood near the later Pleuron, was demolished by the Aeolians; the settlement at Pylenè was transferred to a place further inland, and received the new name of Proschion. Hellanicus had written on the topography of Aetolia. 'He mentions Olenus and Pylenè as if they still existed in their ancient condition; while he includes among the most ancient cities others which were founded at a comparatively recent date,—Macunia and Molucreia,—displaying the greatest carelessness in almost the whole of his account.'² Here then we have a measure for the worth of his bare assertion that Aeolic Ilium was Homeric Troy. But, as we have seen, Strabo, with all his extensive and exact knowledge of the literature relating to the Troad, mentions no other writer besides Hellanicus as having supported that theory.

I stated at the outset of this paper that its scope was limited to examining the nature of ancient tradition and belief with regard to the site of Homeric Troy. In conclusion, I may briefly state the inferences which I draw from the preceding inquiry.

1. The belief that Homeric Troy had been utterly destroyed,

¹ Strabo l.c. § 39.

² Strabo x. ii. § 6. 'Ελληνικός δ' οὐδὲ τὴν περὶ ταύτας ἱστορίαν οἶδεν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔτι καὶ αὐτῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ καταστάσει μέμνηται . . . πλείστην εὐχέριαν

ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἐν πάσῃ σχεδόν τι τῇ γραφῇ. Cp. xi. vii. § 3. Sopater mentions the Αἰγυπτιακὰ of Hellanicus as full of μυθικὰ καὶ πλάσματικά. 'fables and fictions,' Phot. cod. 161.

and that the site had thenceforth remained desolate, formed an essential part of the Trojan legend, not merely in popular Greek rumour, but also in the view of those ancients whose treatment of tradition was more critical.

2. The claim of the Aeolic Ilium to occupy the site of the Homeric Troy is not known to have been supported by any writer, not an Ilian,¹ except Hellanicus, whose opinion on this subject is worthless.

3. The Ilians, who pretended that Homeric Troy had been only partially destroyed, pointed to monuments, arms, etc., which they claimed to have inherited from it. The authenticity of such relics was acknowledged by Alexander when he took the 'sacred arms' from the Ilian temple. His recognition of the Ilian claim was wholesale and totally uncritical. The subsequent Roman recognition was of the same character.

4. On the other hand, the general verdict of competent ancient critics was decisively against this claim.

5. The ancient Greek discussion of the Homeric site presupposed the strictly historical character and the minute topographical accuracy of the *Iliad*.

6. The fact, therefore, of the prevailing ancient belief must be distinguished from its value. If the arguments drawn from the *Iliad* against the site at Hissarlik were conclusive (which is not the case), they would still prove nothing, unless we further assumed that theory of the *Iliad* on which they depend.

7. The interest of the ancient belief, then, is principally historical. It is distinctly adverse to Hissarlik; and this should be frankly recognised. But it cannot detract from any positive presumption in favour of Hissarlik which Dr. Schliemann's actual discoveries may have established. No evidence for the ancient belief exists which could be set against the evidence of the spade.

8. If, however, the 'taking of Troy,' as told by Greek tradition, had a basis of historical fact, then it is improbable on general grounds (as distinguished from mere details of

¹ Polemon of Ilium (Πολέμων Ἰλίου), who lived about 200 B.C., espoused the local tradition of his fellow townsmen in their completeness. It was in his *Περὶ Ἰλίου* that honourable mention was made of the still extant

stone on which Palamedes had given lessons in the game of draughts. See the fragment (preserved by Eustathius on *Iliad* II. 228) in Müller, *Frag. Hist.* III. 125, 32.

tradition) that the real siege was one which resulted merely in the partial destruction of the town, without even breaking the continuity of occupation. In this particular, then, the Greek tradition affects one part of Dr. Schliemann's hypothesis. Any recognition of Homeric Troy's historical prototype so far loses intrinsic probability if it forbids us to suppose that the catastrophe was complete, and that its consequence, at least for a time, was the desertion of the site.¹

R. C. JEBB.

¹ One, at least, of Dr. Schliemann's prehistoric cities—that which he now denominates the 'Second'—has in this

respect an advantage over the 'burnt city' which he identifies with Troy.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF SOUTHERN AEOLIS.

PART I.—ON THE COURSE OF SOME ROADS IN THE PROVINCE OF ASIA.

THE journey which Aelius Aristides made in the year 167 A.D. from Smyrna to Pergamus, and which he relates with much detail in the opening of the fifth book of his *Hieroi Logoi*, is the most valuable evidence left as to the relative situation of Smyrna, Larissa, Cyme, Myrina, and Gryneion: and a careful study of it is the best foundation of a knowledge of Southern Aeolis. The main facts are as follows (Arist. ed. Dind. i. p. 534). On the first day his baggage was sent on in front to Myrina to be ready when he arrived in the evening. When carriages had been got ready and he himself was prepared to start, noon had arrived. In the great heat he did not like to undergo the fatigue of travelling at this hour, and waited at his house in the suburbs of Smyrna till the heat passed. The comfort of his villa was seductive, and some matters of business detained him, so that he lost a great deal of time, and when he reached the khan before the Hermus, the sun was setting. He deliberated whether he should spend the night there, but the discomfort consequent on passing the night in a bad inn without his baggage made him resolve to go on. As he was crossing the Hermus, night had just set in, which shows that it was about one hour after sunset. A cool wind invigorated him, and he was glad on reaching Larissa, ἡδὴ βαθείας ἐσπέρας, that the baggage was still in front, and that the inn was no better than the previous one. A little after midnight he reached Cyme. Every place was shut up, and he encouraged his followers, who apparently were anxious to stop here, to go on. On the journey

the cold became more severe. About cock-crow he reached Myrina, and found his baggage in the street, as it had reached the town after every place was shut. After in vain trying to get admission to any inn, they at last were received into the house of a friend. As they entered it was still quite dark, but after a fire had been kindled the morning star had arisen, and the light of day began to appear. He resolved, therefore, not to go to sleep by day. His road then lay through Gryneion, where he stayed some time to sacrifice to Apollo, to Elaea, where he spent the night; but in these cases no indication is given of the time required for the journey.

How far can we trace the several stages of this journey? It lies almost exactly along the road which is still used from Smyrna to Pergamus. The path is indeed marked out by nature, and though it looks somewhat roundabout on a map, it is in reality the easiest that can be made. The Roman road from Smyrna to Pergamus was constructed by M'. Aquillius Glabrio, who was sent to Asia in B.C. 129 to regulate the province. He constructed a system of roads from Ephesus as the centre of the province; one led to Magnesia ad Maeandrum and Tralles, another to Smyrna and Pergamus. Some of the milestones on these roads have been discovered, giving the distance from Ephesus. The fifth, on the road to Tralles, was discovered last year in making some alterations in the station at Azizieh, and now stands on the station platform close to its original position.

ΜΑΝΙΟΣ ΑΚΥΛΛΙΟΣ ΜΑΝΙΟΥ

ΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ

Ε

The Greek part of the inscription is interesting palaeographically, as showing the highly ornate form of letters used at so early a period. Another stone from the same road, found near Tralles, is published, *C. I. G.* No. 2920. The copy is both

faulty and imperfect, so that neither Boeckh, Waddington (*Fastes des Prov. Asiat.*), nor Rayet (*Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, i. p. 72) were able to restore it; but the complete stone shows at once the necessary corrections and additions—

MI. [AQVILLIVS MI. F]
 C[O S]
 X[X]VIII[I]
 ·MAN[I]OS AKTAΛIOΣ
 MANIOT THTOΣ
 ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
 ΚΘ

Then follow the beginnings of five lines of a Latin inscription; this probably records a repairing of the road, as on a milestone in the Smyrna valley are recorded five successive repairs of the road to Sardis.

Another milestone on the road from Ephesus to Tralles is published by Lebas, No. 1652c., and more correctly in the Smyrna *Μουσείον*, 1876–8, p. 48. The stone has not been understood by Lebas. On one side is given the distance from Ephesus, on the other side the distance from Aidin. Lebas reads the former distance **M A** (*i.e.* M. XXX.) as **XLI.** and the latter distance **M B** (*i.e.* M. II.) as **XLII.**, and thus introduces utter confusion into the inscription. The former is dated under Valerianus and Gallienus, the latter under Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius; but by a curious error the name of Constantius is given twice, in the first and in the third place. We learn from this inscription that the whole distance from Ephesus to Tralles was **XXXII.** miles. The distance by railway is **XXXIV.** English miles. The distance is greater by railway because the station for Ephesus is two miles further north than the ancient city gate, the *Magnesian*. The ancient road crossed from the Cayster valley to the Maeander by the same pass as the railway, but afterwards it took a different and shorter course through the city of *Magnesia*.

In the end of December, 1880, the Rev. S. S. Lewis of Cambridge, and myself, saw another milestone close to Tralles, about half a mile to the west of the modern town. It was nearly dark when we examined it, and we could not read the whole inscription. We left Aidin the next morning early, and

I have not yet had the opportunity of examining the stone again. It was the thirty-first milestone, the two last lines being—

I M P XXII P P Cos V
M I A A

The whole road from Ephesus to Pergamus was repaired in the sixth consulship of Vespasian, A.D. 75. Two stones recording this event, but not apparently marking the distance, are published in the *Μουσείον* of the Evangelical School at Smyrna, 1875-6, pp. 1, 2. They were found a short distance south of Smyrna.

Observing these two kinds of milestones, we can by their help trace the course of the road from Smyrna to Pergamus. Near the probable site of Elaea the inscription on one of Vespasian's stones has been discovered and published in the *Μουσείον* 1875-6, p. 14. The distance in the published copy is ΠΗ, 88 miles. This is certainly too short. In line 10 of the published copy it is necessary to read ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ ζ; in copying, the Ζ of the stone has been mistaken for Ε. Now according to the Peutinger Table (with a correction, of which I shall speak below), the total distance of Elaea from Ephesus is 98 miles, and a suspicion arises that the symbol for 90 on the stone has been misread. M. Fontrier, to whom the discovery and publication of the stone is due, showed me the copy which he had made in his note-book, and above the Π he had placed a mark of interrogation when making the copy, but had omitted it in the published form.

The road went on beyond Pergamus to Adramyttion and the Troad; and one of the original stones found on the road between Pergamus and the Atarneus is published in Curtius' *Beiträge*. In that edition some mistake has been made, for the distance is given as CXXXI., and ΠΑΑ in the uncial text, but in the cursive it is given doubtfully ρ(λα?). It is not obvious where the fault lies: the number looks a little more than one would expect. According to the Peutinger Table, Pergamus is 114 miles from Ephesus, and the place where the stone is said to have been found seems on the map not much more than seven miles beyond Pergamus.

These distances show that Lebas (*Voy. Archéol., Inscr. As.*

Min. No. 6) has made an error in saying that the road to Pergamus went to Phocaea, and thence along the coast northwards. The distance would in that case be very much greater than the assigned measurements. Moreover, no road would, owing to the character of the country, run along the coast north from Phocaea, as Lebas suggests. The road to Phocaea must have branched off the main road at some point in the Hermus valley. Strabo gives the distance as less than 200 stadia, 25 M.P., but this is too low an estimate; possibly the distance is not meant to be measured along the road.

The same route that has been described is given in the Peutinger Table, but it puts Temnos between Smyrna and Cyme. I shall try afterwards to show that this must be a mistake, and that Temnos could not have lain on the road. It seems, therefore, certain (as might almost in fact be assumed without proof) that Aristides, who had, as his account clearly shows, no wish to diverge from the direct route, travelled by the main Roman road from Smyrna to Pergamus. What inferences can be drawn from his journey with regard to the situation of the towns through which he passed?

It would help much if we knew the exact time¹ when the journey was made. It was in the summer (*θέρους ὥρα*) when the heat had lasted long enough to make Aristides weak and ill. A careful perusal of the history of his thirteen years' illness will, I think, show that the treatment prescribed in his dreams by the gods Asclepiós, Serapis, &c., is generally singularly well adapted to his actual circumstances, and that in some cases it can be used as evidence of local peculiarities. Hence it is probable that the journey was made about the end of July or beginning of August, when the relief from the heat is still far off. Later than this, the very expectation of cooler weather about September 10 has an invigorating effect. Sunset on

¹ A few pages further on Aristides says that next year in the same month he went to Cyzicus in the hieromenia there; but I have no means in Smyrna of following up this clue to the exact season. Canter, in his introduction, argues that the festival was in honour of Zeus Olympius, and was celebrated in the great Temple of Cyzicus built

by Hadrian; this temple he considers to be the temple of Zeus. If this be so, the festival would probably, like the Olympia at Pisa, be celebrated in the height of summer. The speech which Aristides delivered at this festival is preserved, and may be found in Dindorf's Edition, vol. i.

August 1 takes place at 7 P.M., and sunrise at 5 A.M. Aristides was an invalid, and would not hurry too much; moreover, he had a considerable following with him (*ἀρχήματα ἐποπλίζετο*). Hence I think it will be very near the truth if we say that he travelled in daylight 4 Roman miles per hour, and in the night $3\frac{1}{2}$. He can hardly have started from Smyrna earlier than 3.30 P.M., when the day is still at its hottest. We have then the following times and distances—¹

Distance on Peutinger Table.	Leaves Smyrna	3.30 P.M.	Distance from Smyrna	14 M.P.
	At the Khan	7 "	" "	" 18 "
	Crosses the Hermus	8 "	" "	" 18 "
	At Larissa	9.45 "	" "	" 24 "
33	Reaches Cyme	12.15 A.M.	" "	" 38 "
	Leaves Cyme	12.30 "		
42	Reaches Myrina	3.15 "	" "	" 42 "
	First light	4 "		

Read in this light, the journey is remarkably like what one would tell of a journey at the present day. The stopping-places, the khan and Larissa, are exactly the points where one would find it convenient now to rest the horses. Close to the low hill on which I shall try to show that Larissa was built, there is still a little hut where travellers generally stop. In the Hermus valley one great difference exists. The river is apt to shift its course, and one can hardly reconcile the times assigned if one supposes the river then had the course that it now has, except at the expense of making the road deviate from what seems the best and most natural route. Ten years or so ago the Hermus changed its course in a single night, and now the crossing is at a point about four miles west of its former position. The old course is that given in Kiepert's map, and is, I believe, much the same as it was in the time of Aristides. The present crossing is close to the railway, a mile before Ulujak,² and my belief is that the khan stood here, about four miles from the Hermus. It would then serve travellers going either to Temnos and the towns in that part of the

¹ It would be tedious to give the reasons which support each stage given; I have worked out the several steps from actual experience, and I believe that the account given cannot be far wrong. The coincidence of the results with the Peutinger distances was not

observed till the whole calculations had been made.

² There are, of course, many other crossings, but according to my conception of the course taken by the road, it would pass not far from this point.

Hermus valley, or to Cyme. The former would naturally follow Aquillius's road to this point, and then go off towards the north.

The present track to Pergamus does not go quite up to Cyme, but turns off to the north across the lower part of the plateau, a short distance before the sea. It does not touch the sea coast till near Gryneion, but keeps a little way inland. Aquillius naturally made the road lead through the important cities of Cyme and Myrina, and at the same time secured for it an easier and more level course. I think engineers would now select nearly the same course.

The distances which we must then assign are as follows :—

Smyrna			XLIV. miles from Ephesus. ¹
Larissa about XXIV. miles from Smyrna			LXVIII. " " "
Cyme XXXIII.	"	"	LXXXVII. " " "
Myrina XLII.	"	"	LXXXVI. " " "
Gryneion XLVII.?	"	"	XCI. " " "
Elaea LIV.	"	"	XCVIII. " " "
Pergamus LXX.	"	"	OXIV. " " "

Gryneion is not mentioned on the Peutinger Table, and Strabo's distances are quite different from those of the Table, so that his account cannot be used. I suppose it to lie nearly halfway between Myrina and Elaea.

Strabo (XIII. p. 622) gives two accounts of the distances between Cyme, Myrina, Gryneion, and Elaea. The first is,

Cyme	to	Myrina	40 stadia	5 M.P.
Myrina	"	Gryneion	40 "	5 "
Gryneion	"	Elaea	40 "	5 "
Elaea	"	Pergamos	120 "	15 "

The second he quotes from Artemidorus, who estimates the distances as much greater, but seems to take them along the coast line (*ἐγκολπίζοντι*). Only in one case does he state the full distance, viz. from Gryneion to Elaea 70 stadia. He does not mention the distance from Smyrna to Cyme, but that from Cyme to Elaea is certainly below the truth, while the Peutinger Table seems quite consistent with the map. Artemidorus, on the other hand, is decidedly above the true measurement. So far as my experience goes, the distances given by Strabo are

¹ On this distance see below.

generally a little short of the truth. This is the case with the XL. stadia that he places between Sardis and the tombs of the Lydian kings, and, I believe, with the XX. stadia between Smyrna and the Παλαιὰ Πόλις. He places CCCXX. between Ephesus and Smyrna, and as he mentions that the distance is measured across by Metropolis, which is quite out of the direct line and on the course of the road, it is evident that he ought to agree with the measurement of the road. The question arises whether that measurement can be determined.

A milestone is published by Lebas, *l.c.* No. 6; it was found at Bournabat. The distance is some number between forty and fifty. In discussing the inscription Lebas makes a curious error. He thinks that the road from Ephesus passed Bournabat before reaching Smyrna, and that the distance between the places is about two miles. The road came straight north, passed on the west side of Mt. Pagus, not on the east side like the modern road and railway; the reason being that the ancient city lay more on the west side of Pagus than the modern. Bournabat is $4\frac{1}{2}$ English miles in a straight line from Smyrna, and does not even lie on the road from Smyrna to Pergamus. It must have had a separate road, and the milestone in question has no relation to those which certainly belong to the great road. It mentions only the sixth consulship of Claudius (A.D. 37); and perhaps we may conclude that the Roman road was first made in that year. A bad country road must of course always have existed. Now as Bournabat is about five Roman miles from Smyrna, the distance of Smyrna from Ephesus cannot be more than 44 miles. Strabo twice gives it as 40 miles, and the Peutinger Table gives it as 34. The distance by railway to the city of Ephesus (as distinguished from the railway station) is 50 English miles. The railway certainly traversed the same pass into the Cayster valley that was followed by the Roman road. That road passed through Metropolis according to both Strabo and the Peutinger Table; and Metropolis has been proved conclusively by M. Fontrier (*Μουσείον*, 1876-8) to lie in this very pass, and not far from the railway. The railway makes a considerable circuit between Metropolis and Smyrna; but it is not possible that the road could have been more than seven or eight miles shorter than the railway. This would make it about 44 Roman miles. We must then, as Lebas (*l.c.*)

suggested, correct the Peutinger Table to XXXXIII. The reading on the milestone must therefore be restored as forty-nine.

The main road constructed by Aquillius must be carefully distinguished from the road between Smyrna and Sardis, on which three milestones in the Smyrna valley are known. On the sixth it is recorded that the road was made in the proconsulship of Lollianus Gentianus, which Lebas places before the time of Aurelius, and successively repaired in the reigns of Septimius Severus, Aurelian, Diocletian, Constantine and Valentinian I. (Lebas, No. 8). The distances were measured from Smyrna. The second and eighth milestones are also published by Lebas, Nos. 7 and 9. The second records only the repairs under Constantine, the eighth only the original construction.

Lebas (No. 1724 f.) has published another milestone, said to have been found at Menemen in the Hermus valley. It is also published by M. Fontrier in the *Μουσείον*, 1875-6, p. 31, with a difference of reading. I have examined the stone, and find that M. Fontrier's reading represents its present state. Under the Greek text are the symbols

Μ Η

The end of the Latin text, in very indistinct symbols, is

NOBILICAISS

MVII

The writing throughout is very rude and irregular. Lebas reads,

NOBILI[SSI]MIS
A[S]MIP

M. Fontrier reads

nobi(lissimis) n(ostris) Caes(ar-
ibus), S(myrna) M. VII.

The Greek text gives in full ἀπὸ Σμύρνης. There is no trace on the stone to give the reading VIII. corresponding to the Greek H; but the surface is worn, and now covered with a coating of white paint.

Menemen is $19\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Smyrna by the railway; hence the only explanation of the number on the stone seems to be that the road which it marked led from Temnos and the middle Hermus valley to the sea coast, and thence crossed to Smyrna by water. Till the railway was made goods from the district took this route, embarking at Menemen Scala. Eight miles is not far from the actual distance to the sea.

The stone is dated between 292 and 305 A.D., when Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius and Galerius were emperors. The road must of course be older, and probably crossed the main road near Ulujak, and about the spot where the Khan (καταγώγιον πρὸ τοῦ Ἑρμου) was placed conjecturally; it may have served travellers on both roads.

Another road whose course is of much interest is one that led from Ephesus to Sardis. This road crossed the mountains by the pass of Karabel, in which are the two figures known as the Sesostres. It is probable that the Roman road of the empire took another course, but this pass is still used, and was in use in the time of Herodotus. But it is certain that neither the road from Smyrna to Sardis, nor that from Ephesus to Phocaea could have gone through this pass, which is very far from the proper track. Hence if these figures of Sesostris are referred to by Herodotus (II. 106) in the well-known passage, the only resource I can see is to alter the reading by transposing the names Phocaea and Sardis. In that case it would be necessary to look for another figure in the mountainous country towards Phocaea. The Sesostris figure described by Herodotus is the one near the ground in the Karabel Pass; his words do not suit the other figure high up on the rock. Moreover the two figures are so close to one another that it is impossible any one could say they were on different roads, especially when they are in a single mountain pass. If some such correction of the text is not admitted, and if the two Karabel figures are considered to be the two described by Herodotus, it seems necessary to accuse the historian of a serious error in describing what he had actually seen.

P.S.—M. Fontrier has published, in the paper above quoted on Metropolis, a milestone found near the site of the city. It belongs to the road from Pergamus to Smyrna, but the distance recorded was illegible. The distance was measured ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου, and the stone belongs to the repair executed under Diocletian and the three other emperors. This discovery confirms the evidence of the Peutinger Table and of Strabo, that the road passed through Metropolis.

The difference of number on the two sides of the milestone from Menemen may be explained, as in the case of the thirtieth from Ephesus towards Tralles, by understanding the one side to be according to the text ἀπὸ Σμύρνης **M Θ**, and the other side to be the distance from Temnos. On the latter side, there is no statement of the point whence the measurement. If, according to the hypothesis proposed above, the road be understood as that from Temnos to the quay opposite Smyrna, the measurements would suit very well. The milestone near Tralles gives in similar style on one side

ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου **M Λ A**

and on the other side simply **M B**.

W. M. RAMSAY.

(To be continued).

BUST OF PERSEUS. [Plate IX.]

THE bust here published was acquired by the British Museum in 1879 from Alessandro Castellani, but without an accompanying record of where it had been found. The marble is Italian and the workmanship Roman, or, as it is generally termed, Graeco-Roman. In the type of head and in the features is to be traced a powerful and pathetic original. The chin is aesthetically large, the eyes and eyebrows are strained forward as if by constant intensity of pathos, in contrast to the relaxation of muscle produced by an equable mind. Doubtless the original is to be sought in the schools of Praxiteles and Scopas; but in the search for it allowance must be made for great differences. In this marble the collar-bones and the strongly-marked muscles of the neck are represented so as to aid the effect of the strain on the neck rather than for the sake of truth to nature. The object of the sculptor has been to produce a first impression, not of form but of action. He has been regardless of form, now exaggerating, as in the muscles of the neck, now reducing such details as the right wing of the helmet to a condition of subordination which has a paltry effect. The feathers which cover the helmet are from the hand of an ordinary workman. The left wing has been made of a separate piece and let in, but is now wanting.

It might be a question whether this head is not that of Hermes rather than of Perseus. The fact of its having been made to fit into a term—as may be seen from the angle at which the chest-bones project—would be in favour of Hermes, while the winged cap would in its present condition equally suit him. But there remain on the crown of it certain holes by which some object has been attached. The winged cap of Hermes has nothing there, while that of Perseus is incomplete

without an eagle's head rising from the crown (see the silver coins of Philip V.), or at least the termination familiar in the Phrygian cap. The whole cap or helmet being covered with small feathers as if indicating the breast of a bird, it is evident that the marble can only be correctly restored by following the coins just referred to. It is the helmet of Hades with its property of rendering the wearer invisible.

Then the expression of the face is too intense for Hermes. It is more in character for a hero, and curiously enough the way in which the head is set against the neck resembles strikingly what is often to be seen in the heads of Medusa on Roman gems, so much so indeed that a knowledge of these gems could hardly fail to suggest an identification of the bust as that of some one intimately associated with her. How she came to be represented in this fashion on gems, has yet to be explained. Possibly she was gradually assimilated in aspect to Perseus. The height of the bust is 1 foot 3 inches.

A. S. MURRAY.

KYLIX WITH EXPLOITS OF THESEUS.

THE vase from which the designs on Plate X. are copied is a *Kylix*, or shallow two-handled cup, 5 inches high by $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. It was acquired by the British Museum in 1850, together with other objects included in the sale of the collection of Dr. Emil Braun, who had procured it from the dealer Basseggio: in the sale catalogue it is stated to have been found at Vulci.

Notices of this vase have appeared in various works from time to time; Dr. Braun himself exhibited it at the Roman Instituto (*Bulletino di Corr. Archeol.* 1846, p. 106); Gerhard, in the *Archäol. Zeitung* for 1846, p. 289, described it briefly; and it is included in the *Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum*, No. 824*. In publishing for the first time, so far as I am aware, an engraving of this magnificent vase, it may be worth while to add a more detailed description than has hitherto appeared.

The drawing is of the period which is known as that of the finest red figure style, dating broadly between about B.C. 400 and B.C. 330. The best vases of this period are usually characterised by the introduction within the figures of faint red or brown lines, which show up the minor details of muscle and tone down the bolder outlines, adding a beautiful roundness and finish to the workmanship. Being only laid on in light thin colours, these inner markings are the first to disappear, and are on this account only found in perfection on a few of the best preserved vases; in this vase only traces of these markings remain here and there, part having faded away, part also having been overlaid with the modern paint used in hiding fractures, and which is freely bestowed over the design.¹

¹ On the bottom of the foot is a *graffito* incised, AV.

The subject here represented is that of the labours of Theseus, one of which is shown within the circular medallion in the interior, the rest being arranged around it in the interior, and on the outside of the cup.

There is perhaps no subject more frequently dealt with in Greek art than that of the history of Theseus: specially an Athenian hero, he had as real an existence in Athenian eyes as that of the best authenticated saint of mediaeval times: witness the extraordinary honours paid to his bones when they were so happily discovered by Kimon in Skyros and transported to Athens: do not the pine trees still grow on the hill where Sinis met his end and where Skiron's victims were avenged? It is true, in course of tradition, his great deeds became somewhat entangled with those of the more remotely mythical Herakles (because their missions were the same), so that his later biographers took pains to analyse the myth, and separate what they considered to be the historical evidence latent in the legend. Theseus is essentially the typical conception of Athenian *ephebeia*: his headdress marks him an athlete; ever young and graceful, he accomplishes his toils with little or no effort; unlike Herakles in this, that his feats are the triumph of skill rather than of brute force. Pausanias (I. xxxix. 3) says that, the inventor of the art of wrestling, he overthrew Kerkyon not by bodily strength, but by skill (*σοφία*); and on our vase he gets the better of his opponent by a manoeuvre which every athlete would appreciate. The type of Theseus as conceived in the best age of Greek art is more remarkable for grace than for muscular robustness, and it is in accordance with this conception that this hero not unfrequently appears with a feminine headdress. Pausanias even relates an anecdote of his being mistaken for a girl when he first entered Athens.¹

The deeds of Theseus seem to divide themselves naturally into two parts, the contests with Amazons, Centaurs and Pallantidae standing apart from the labours proper which took place during his journey from Troezen to Athens, and with which is included the subsequent destruction of the Minotaur—eight in all, as they appear on the metopes of the so-called Theseion, and

¹ i. 19, § 1. οἶα δὲ χιτῶνα ἔχοντας
αὐτοῦ ποδῆρῃ καὶ πεπλεγμένης ἐς εὐπρε-
πές αἱ τῆς κόμης. . . ἤρροντο σὺν χλευ-

ασίᾳ ὃ τι δὴ παρθένος ἐν ἔργῳ γάμον
πλανῶται μόνῃ.

according to the hero's biographers. Of the known representations of one or more of these labours on vases, Gurlitt¹ has collected as many as twelve, and from his series it would appear that our vase is the only one which portrays as many as seven scenes.

The introduction of paintings around the inner medallion in a cup of this shape is very unusual; and oddly enough, the designs are almost identically the same on the exterior and interior; a phenomenon in vase painting of which I do not remember a single other instance, and which at first sight would appear to show a want of originality in the artist inconsistent with Greek ideas. So far as internal evidence of style and treatment goes, it would seem that both friezes were the work of the same hand; in that case it is difficult to decide which is the first and which the later work or copy. In some cases the exterior scenes seem less forcible and more uncertain in execution than those of the inside; for instance, in the scene of the destruction of the sow of Krommyon, the attitude of Phaia on the exterior lacks motive as compared with the masterly attitude of her figure in the duplicate scene. On the other hand, in the wrestling scene, the right arm of Kerkyon on the interior would seem to have been badly copied from the outside, where the motive is more certainly shown. Again, it may be noticed that from the process of reversal, two of the labours of Theseus on the inside, viz. the dragging of Sinis to the pine top, and the taming of the bull, are effected with his left, whereas on the exterior he uses, as is more natural, his right hand. It is possible that the artist may have painted the groups on the exterior first, and then, having found that, owing to the space taken up by the handles of the vase, the action was somewhat cramped for want of room, chose to repeat the same scenes on the interior, where the continuity of the series would be uninterrupted; the result being that the groups on the interior plainly show a greater freedom and breadth of treatment than those from which they were probably copied. Plate X. represents the scenes of the interior only.

Admirably adapted as these groups would be for a series of compositions such as one would expect on the metopes of a temple, it is perhaps somewhat strange to find that the treatment on the vase has in certain cases approached so near to,

¹ Gurlitt, *Das Alter der Bildwerke des Theseions*, pp. 42-44.

without absolutely recalling the metopes of the so-called Theseion. The attitude of the sow of Krommyon is indeed exactly similar to that in the metope, but the action of Theseus in that group is quite different from the design on the marble. This scene, together with the groups of the bull and of Sinis on the exterior of the cup, would seem to show that the artist must have seen the marble groups, but had not them before his eyes when designing this cup.

In one or two points, the treatment of the subject on this vase seems to me to exhibit certain peculiarities worthy of remark; it will be convenient first of all to describe briefly the labours of Theseus as they are here given.

1. In the interior, within a circle of the Maeander pattern, is represented the contest of Theseus with the Minotaur: in this, as in almost all the other scenes, the struggle is already decided in favour of the hero; Theseus drags the helpless monster from the palace by the left horn, and is about to despatch him with the sword of his father Aigeus, which accompanies him in all his labours; the palace is represented by a fluted Doric column with its entablature and triglyphs, at the side of which is a door jamb (?) decorated with a vertical band of pattern, in which squares of a check pattern alternate with Maeander or labyrinth squares; the latter, it is possible, may have reference to the labyrinth in which the palace of the Minotaur stood.¹ The remaining scenes are represented on the interior from left to right in the following order.

2. The punishment of Sinis Pityokampes: Sinis is seated on the top of a hill, and with right and left foot against rocks, and left arm round a tree, strives in vain to frustrate the purpose of Theseus; his grasp of the tree already relaxes as the hero hauls him with his left arm towards the end of the pine which he holds in his right hand bent down for the robber: Sinis is bald over the forehead and has shaggy hair and beard. At the bottom of the hill is the rough outline of a tortoise, probably inserted in error by the artist, who was perhaps thinking of Skiron; in any case such an attribute would not be wholly incorrect, for according to Strabo (ix. p. 391) the hill of Sinis was the same Skironian hill where the tortoise fed on Skiron's victims.

¹ The same pattern occurs on the scene of this myth was laid. coins of Gnosso in Krete, where the

Tradition seems to have been undecided by which of two methods Sinis destroyed his victims. According to one story he seems to have inveigled the unwary traveller to help him in bending down the pine, and while both were holding the bent top, the robber would let go, the result being that the traveller was jerked over the tree and dashed to pieces. A less ingenious but more certain method was to bind the victim by main force to the tops of two pine trees already bent for the purpose: the trees being then freed, the body was torn in two. The artist has not plainly indicated which punishment Theseus adopts on our vase; probably the one tree is intended to suggest the other, and Sinis will be fastened to both.

3. Contest with the sow of Krommyon: Theseus, holding up his mantle for a shield, advances with his sword drawn against the sow, which springs at him, rearing up on its hind legs; beside the sow in the background stands Phaia, leaning forward and extending both arms towards Theseus, her left hand resting on a long staff; she wears a talaric *chiton* girt at the waist, her face is wrinkled as that of an old woman, and her arms are covered with hair; her hair is painted a yellowish white.

In all the scenes on both sides, Theseus as well as his adversaries is represented nude; in this one scene only, the contest with the sow, he has a *chlamys*, which he holds up for a shield on his left arm. This peculiarity may justify my calling attention to a fact which is perhaps after all only accidental, I mean the striking resemblance of the figure of Theseus in this group to one of the figures from the original marble group of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, as we know it from extant monuments, while the other figure in the same group seems to have suggested the action of the hero in his contest with Skiron as given in the interior of the cup; the *podanipter* in this design taking the place of the sword in the marble group.¹

The female figure in this scene is usually set down as the nymph of the locality where the action takes place; but Plutarch tells another story: 'Some say that Phaia was a robber woman, bloody and wanton, who lived in Krommyon, but who was called a sow on account of her character and life.' The representation on our vase may be intended to suggest no

¹ See the Panathenaic amphora in Room, Pt. i. p. 13. *Mon. Ined. di the Brit. Mus. Guide to second Vase* *Corr. Arch. Rom.* viii. 46.

more than the ordinary version; on the other hand, it seems to me quite possible that the artist may rather have had in view the version which Plutarch gives, that he has attempted to show the combined nature of animal and woman, and that for this reason he has shown both Phaia and the sow. In vase-painting the transition from one condition to another is represented conventionally by showing both forms of change together; as, for instance, in many of the scenes relating to the capture of Thetis, her power of transformation is indicated by the lion, or snake, or flame, or all three, which are painted as springing from her human figure; and just as on a Basilicata vase in the British Museum,¹ Iphigeneia at Aulis appears at the precise moment of her transformation into a hind;² so here the two forms representing the same idea are put side by side; and it is curious to note how similar are their attitudes; the long body of Phaia leaning forward with her arms outstretched composes naturally with the lines of the rearing sow.

4. Contest with the wrestler Kerkyon; Theseus grasping the left upper arm of the robber with his right hand, with his left seizes the right side of Kerkyon; he draws his opponent forward, and himself leaning back slightly, prepares to throw the robber backwards over his knees, by a feat in wrestling technically known as the 'cross-buttock throw.' The left arm of Kerkyon is forced against the side of his opponent, so that he cannot bend or release it; his right hand probably clutches the left arm of Theseus which is overturning him. Kerkyon is bald over the forehead and has short curly hair and beard; he wears a *diadema*.

5. On the right of this group is a spear placed in a slanting position, as if leaning against a wall, upon which hangs over the spear a club probably of metal, tapering towards the handle. The introduction of this club and spear seems to have no special meaning in connection with either of the scenes

¹ *Catalogue of Vases*, No. 1428, engraved, Overbeck, *Heroische Bildwerke*, xiv. 9.

² Iphigeneia (*Iph. in Tauris*, l. 28) says that Artemis snatched her away, leaving a hind in her place; from ll. 6-8, *ibid.* and a fragment of Euripides, *Ελαφον* δ' Ἀχαιῶν χερσὶν ἐνθήσω... ἣν σφάζοντες

αὐχέσουσι σὴν σφάζειν θυγατέρα, we gather that the Greeks still imagined that they had sacrificed Iphigeneia; to their eyes, therefore, the maiden must for the moment have appeared so like the hind as to justify the idea of her actual transformation.

between which they stand. The club was distinctly the weapon of only one of the antagonists of Theseus; and if we combine this with the fact that all the eight labours are clearly depicted here except the combat with Korynetes the club-wielder, it seems to me extremely probable that the eighth contest is suggested by these adjuncts; the spear standing for the hero (as on the Metope he kills Korynetes with that weapon), and the club typifying his adversary.

6. The overthrow of the robber Polypemon or Damastes, surnamed Prokrustes. Already vanquished, he has been thrown backwards upon his famous bed, and, half stunned, can do no more than raise his hand helplessly for mercy. Theseus strides forward to give him the death-blow; swinging above his head the double-headed axe, *pelekus*, with which Prokrustes had fitted so many victims to his bed. The bed as seen in perspective is represented by a horizontal bar, the cross-bars of which are represented by vertical lines which divide the horizontal bar into equal spaces, and which rests upon two upright legs. Prokrustes has a wrinkled face and a shock of long hair.

7. The death of Skiron. In an attitude similar to that of Prokrustes in the last scene, Skiron has fallen backwards, and feebly raises his right hand while he supports himself on his left; on the left Theseus brandishes in air the foot-pan, *podanipter*, in the act of bringing it down upon the head of Skiron. The hill on which this scene took place is indicated by an irregular mass of rock on which Skiron has fallen, and on the top of which is a stunted pine tree; at the foot is the tortoise, looking upward with an air of expectation.

According to the legend this tortoise was fed by Skiron with the corpses of his victims; that is to say, while the unwary traveller was washing the robber's feet he kicked him over the precipice, food for the tortoise, or, as we should say, 'food for the fishes'; for it is possible that the sea tortoise is put in here merely as an emblem of the sea itself. Many authors who describe this scene say that Skiron was thrown into the sea, making no mention of the tortoise; Diodoros (iv. 59) says *λακτίσματι δὲ ἄφνω τύπτων περιεκύλιε κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν εἰς θάλατταν κατὰ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην χελώνην*. On a vase in the British Museum (*Cat.* No. 824), and on another (Panofka, *Tod des Skiron*, Taf. 1), the sea and tortoise are both shown below the

rock. The employment of a similar attribute for the seashore itself is not unusual; as, for example, the crab and fish below the figures of Nereids from the Lycian monument, not to mention the vexed question of the Olympian Nikè by Paeonios, who probably alights upon a tortoise.

The girls of Greece (Pollux. IX. 125) had a game which has been thought to have a reference to this myth. One would sit in the middle and be called *χελώνη*, her companions ran round her, and they sang alternately:—

Χελὶ χελώνη τί ποιεῖς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ;
 Ἔρια μαρύομαι καὶ κρόκην Μιλησίαν.
 Ὅ δ' ἔκγονός σου, τί ποίῳ ἀπώλετο;
 Λευκὰν ἀφ' ἥππων εἰς θάλασσαν ἄλατο—

which white horses were by Panofka supposed to be the white Skironian hills.¹

8. The capture of the bull of Marathon. Theseus, his right foot pressed to obtain a fulcrum against a rock, draws back the bull with his left hand by a cord tied around its horns, throwing his weight upon its back as it plunges forward; the sudden jerk back has brought it nearly on its haunches, with its head forced up in air; in his right hand Theseus holds a knotted club.

The points of difference between the general character of the outside and inside scenes are very slight. The attitude of Phaia and the minor point of Kerkyon have been already mentioned; on the exterior Phaia rests one hand on her staff and raises the other with a deprecating gesture. The fact that there is no rock below Sinis, and that a conical cap, *pilos*, is hung up behind the figure of Kerkyon, completes the distinction, except that as each scene on the exterior is exactly below the corresponding scene on the interior, the order of the groups on the outside is necessarily changed from right to left, and the relative position of the figures is generally altered.

CECIL SMITH.

¹ Panofka, *Tod des Skiron*, note 12; but see Fouquières, *Les Jeux des Anciens*, p. 38.

VOTIVE ARMOUR AND ARMS.

THE custom of dedicating or of specially setting apart articles of use or ornament to divine beings has been common to many peoples, and has come down from a remote antiquity to the present day. Nor is the motive which prompts the action one in any way foreign to the impulses by which men are moved. A danger escaped, a victory achieved, is not unnaturally believed to be due, at all events in some measure, to powers not of the lower world, who can control and even overrule the designs of mortal men. In the temples, therefore, of the gods, and in other places hallowed by the more immediate presence of the divinity, it has been the habit to offer various things in recognition of benefits already bestowed, or in the hope of favours to be granted in the future. The pot of manna and Aaron's rod which budded laid up in the Tabernacle,¹ are as trite as are the models which the same pious feeling still deposits in Christian churches, in remembrance of shipwrecks escaped from or of diseases cured. In no country was the custom more observed than in Hellas, where it was usual to dedicate a tenth of the spoil taken in war, and where at the great shrines so large were the offerings, that many of the states had *θησαυροί*, in which were preserved the almost innumerable votive objects dedicated to the Gods. In Greece itself there was no place, not excepting Delphi and Dodona, where more evidence of the observance of the custom was to be found than at Olympia, and in the temple where dwelt the cloud-compelling wielder of the lightning, the mighty dispenser of victory, Zeus, the King of Gods and men.

¹ In the later times of the Jewish kingdom the practice was still kept up, for we read in the account of Herod's new Temple at Jerusalem : τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ

παντὸς ἦν ἐν κύκλῳ πεπηγμένα σκῦλα βαρβαρικά καὶ τούτα πό·τα βασιλεὺς Ἡράδης ἀνέθηκε, προσθεὶς ὅσα καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔλαβεν.—Josephus, xv. 11.

Pausanias¹ gives an account of some of the many offerings which still remained at Olympia in his time, of which, among the most noteworthy, may be mentioned the golden buckler on the front of the temple, dedicated by the Lacedaemonians and their allies from the spoil of the Argives, Athenians, and Ionians after the battle of Tanagra. He also tells us,² and, on account of the inscription, the fact is especially valuable, that at the centre of the Altis, under the plane-trees, was the statue of an athlete, carrying halteres, having the following inscription engraved on the thigh :

Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλεῖ μ' ἀκροβίνιον ἐνθάδ' ἔθηκεν
Μενδαῖοι Σίπτην χερσὶ βιασσάμενοι.

Amongst the many and varied articles offered in the sacred places, not the least common were weapons both of offence and defence,³ and several of these have escaped the numerous destructive agencies to which they have been subjected, and have come down to our own time.

Before giving a description of the spear-head which forms the principal subject of the present paper, or entering on the discussion of any question connected therewith, it may be useful to bring together the scattered notices of such weapons as have been discovered, which, on account of the inscriptions upon them, have undoubtedly been dedicatory. Many of them have been found on the site of Olympia or in the immediate neighbourhood.

One of the most important of these inscribed votive weapons

¹ Lib. v. cap. 10.

² Lib. v. cap. 27.

³ The *Anthologia Graeca* contains numerous epigrams which relate to offerings of arms. The second of the *Epigrammata Anathematica*, by Simonides, is as follows :

Τόξα τάδε πολέμοιο πεπανμένα δακρυό-
εντος

νηφ' Ἀθηναίης κείται ὑποβόφεια,
πολλὰκι δὴ στονόεντα κατὰ κλόνον ἐν
δαί φωτῶν

Περσῶν ἱπομάχων αἵματι λουσάμενα.
No. 81 records the dedication of a

shield, breastplate, and helmet to Ares ; No. 84 of a shield to Zeus ; No. 85 and No. 86 are both dedications of armour ; No. 91 speaks of various pieces of armour taken from the enemy and dedicated by different soldiers to Ares ; No. 97 contains the dedication of a spear by one Alexandros, " the inscription on which relates that it was dedicated to Artemis after a war " ; No. 124, No. 141, and No. 264, all relate to dedications of a shield.

is the helmet, now in the British Museum by the gift of George IV.,¹ which was discovered at Olympia itself in 1817. It is inscribed on the upper part: **ΒΙΑΡΟΝ Ο ΔΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΙ ΤΥΡΑΝ ΑΠΟ ΚΥΜΑΣ**; and tells its own story with sufficient plainness. Hieron and the Syracusans defeated the fleet of the Etruscans and their Carthaginian allies in a battle off Cumae, B.C. 474, and we have therefore an exact date for the dedication. The helmet itself, of markedly Etruscan shape, measures in the inside $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches from back to front, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, and is $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height. Though it is thin in fabric, and has no appearance of ever having had any lining, it has evidently been in use. It was possibly one of several then dedicated, or it may have formed part of a trophy, and we can scarcely doubt that it was worn in the battle by one of the Etruscan combatants. In this respect it differs from some of the dedicatory weapons which have certainly never served any other purpose than that of having been offered. Pausanias² records another offering having a near connection with this, one of three linen breastplates, made to Zeus at Olympia by Gelon, brother of Hieron, and the Syracusans from Carthaginian spoil.

Another helmet, also one which had been in use, is preserved in the British Museum, from the Payne Knight collection.³ It was found in the Alpheios near Olympia in 1795, and was procured there by Mr. Morritt of Rokeby, the friend and correspondent of Sir Walter Scott, and author of *Topography of Troy*. It is of purely Corinthian type, which accords with its having been in its present form part of the actual spoil, and not merely fabricated from weapons then taken. Though the nasal is thick, the rest of the helmet is of very thin material, and there is no indication that it had ever been lined. It measures $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the point of the nasal to the back, and its greatest width is $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, whilst the width for the head is just over 7 inches; in consequence of its imperfect condition the original height cannot be ascertained. At the back of the helmet, close to

¹ Boeckh, tom. i. p. 34, No. 16; Rose, *Inscript. Graecae*, p. 66, tab. viii. 1; *Horae Ferales*, p. 169, Pl. xii. fig. 1; *Palaeographical Society*, Pl. vii. 77b.

² Lib. vi. cap. 19.

³ Boeckh, tom. i. p. 47, No. 29; *Horae Ferales*, p. 169, Pl. xii. fig. 3; Rose, *Inscript. Graecae*, p. 59, tab. vii. 1.

the edge, is a round hole, a quarter of an inch in diameter, punched through, probably to affix it in the position it was intended to occupy as a votive offering. It bears the following inscription along the edge of the neck: **Τ ΑΡΓ . . ΟΙ ΑΝΕΘΕΝ ΤΟΙ ΔΙΦΙ ΤΟΝ ΨΟΡΙΝΘΟΘΕΝ**. To what particular event this refers it is perhaps impossible to ascertain. In B.C. 460 Athens, Argos, and Megara were in alliance against Corinth, and in B.C. 457 there were battles in the territory of Megara, ending in the complete defeat of the Corinthians. It is possible that in one of these engagements the helmet became a spoil to the Argives, and was then inscribed and dedicated. The character of the letters coincides perfectly with the date suggested.

A third helmet has been discovered at Olympia,¹ and like the last it was found in the bed of the Alpheios, on the right bank. It came into the possession of Mr. Bartholomew Frere, who gave it to the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose hands it still remains. The inside measurements of this helmet, which is of Corinthian form (see Plate XI.), are as follows: length about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, width $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, height about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Round the edge is engraved a very delicate pattern. It is inscribed **ΖΕΝΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟ** in very archaic letters (see plate). As in the case of the two preceding helmets, it was therefore dedicated to Zeus, but by whom or on what occasion that took place has not been recorded upon it, though there can be little doubt it was after some success in war. There is a square hole at the back, which has evidently been made intentionally, and is not the result of decay of the metal, suggesting that it was affixed to some support by means of a nail. It may therefore have formed the upper part of a trophy, other parts of which were perhaps inscribed more fully, and may have recorded the victory in commemoration of which the arms composing it were dedicated. Near the large hole, a little to one side, is a very small hole which may have been used in fixing the crest, a corresponding one having probably been obliterated in making the larger hole. On the front part of the top of the helmet, on the oxidised surface, is an oblong mark across it, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, possibly produced by solder, and which may have been connected with

¹ Boeckh, tom. i. p. 48, No. 30; Rose, *Inscript. Græcæ*, p. 58, tab. vi. 2.

the fastening of the crest. It should be stated that the ends of the cheek pieces have been turned up, evidently in ancient times.¹



There is another bronze object which has been described as a votive helmet. It is now preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, and was discovered, if not at Olympia itself, at all events in the near neighbourhood. Colonel Leake, who procured it at Pyrgo, says² that though professedly found at Khaiáffa, he believes it came from Olympia. It is a lekythos or oil vase, 2½ inches high, in the shape of a helmeted head of which the eyeballs are pierced, though they must have been filled in with silver or paste to enable the vase to be used. It has a short neck with a wide rim, on which are engraved radiating flower petals, with a short broad handle on which is a dolphin. The bottom is now wanting, but was once fixed on by solder. In general form this little vessel resembles the still more diminutive lekythoi of early painted pottery which have been found at

¹ Another helmet very similar in workmanship is in the possession of Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent. It has a large round hole at the back, and the ends of the cheek pieces have also been turned up in ancient times. Like

the Bishop of Lincoln's helmet, it has probably been votive.

² *Travels in the Morea*, vol. i. p. 47; Walpole, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 597, No. 62; Boeckh, tom. i. p. 48, No. 31; Rose, *Inscript. Græcæ*, p. 20, tab. iii. 1.

Cameiros, and of which several are preserved in the British Museum. In that museum may also be seen a number of bronze vessels in the form of female heads, of Etruscan workmanship, where the eyes are pierced, and the bottom, which is generally wanting, has also been soldered on. It should be mentioned that on each cheek piece a boar is very delicately engraved, in this particular reminding us of two bronze helmets in the British Museum. Over the forehead is inscribed in retrograde letters of an early character, **ΦΟΙΟΣ ΜΑΓΘΕΣΕΝ**.¹



It has been questioned whether any of the helmets, including some uninscribed ones, found at Olympia had ever been in use as defensive arms.² It is argued that they are so slight in fabric that they would practically afford little or no protection in war, and that they were *δπλα πομπευτήρια*, arms of ceremony rather than weapons for the battle. We know that in the games those who contended were sometimes equipped with a helmet and other armour,³ and indeed it is possible that some of these arms, of thin material and unsubstantial make, may have been used in that way, but this will not hold true of all. We cannot, for instance, regard the helmet dedicated by Hieron and the Syracusans, or that again by the Argives, as being other than actual spoil taken from an enemy after having been used in the battle where the dedicator was victorious. And further it may be remarked that though some helmets are thicker and stronger than others, the greater number being quite thin except as

¹ Under the N is a letter, possibly part of an O, which must have been there before the N was inscribed. It is not improbable that this was the commencement of an inscription, intended to read

from left to right.

² Dodwell, *Travels in Greece*, vol. ii. p. 301.

³ Pausanias, lib. vi. cap. 10.

regards the nasal, it does not follow that the weaker ones were not intended for use. Thin as they are, when further strengthened by a lining of leather and by the crest, they might be strong enough to turn the force of a blow and to serve as an effectual defence for the wearer. In Britain several shields, belonging to the age of bronze,¹ have been met with, which are so thin that it would scarcely be supposed they could have afforded any protection to the warrior, and yet in some instances they show by the cuts upon them that they have been actually in battle; and besides this no shield of that date has been discovered which is of any stronger make.

To pass from the instruments of defensive to those of offensive warfare. So far as I know, the only dedicatory weapons which have occurred are spear-heads, and all of them, with the exception of the subject of this paper, have certainly been found at Olympia, whilst in all probability that also was discovered at the same place. These, five in number, have resulted from the late excavations there, so munificently undertaken and carried out by the German Government, under the able superintendence of Dr. Gustav Hirschfeld and Herr Adolph Bötticher.

The first was found January 21, 1876, a little to the south of the south-west corner of the Temple of Zeus.² It is four-sided, and has upon one of the faces this inscription: **ΜΕΘΑΝΙΟΙ ΑΠΟ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ** (see plate). Methana was situated on a promontory of the Argive peninsula adjoining to Troezene, and but little is known of its history. To what war with Sparta, a state infinitely surpassing it in power, this votive offering refers, it would be in vain to conjecture. The dedication was no doubt to Zeus, and, judging from the letters, it must have taken place at a time antecedent to the Peloponnesian War. This, like all the other dedicatory spear-heads which have been discovered, has evidently been manufactured specially for the purpose of being offered, and was never intended for a weapon of war. The form is quite unlike that of the ordinary spear-head, and without taking into consideration the fact that the

¹ *Horae Ferales*, p. 166, Pl. xi.; Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements*, figs. 428-435.

² *Arch. Zeitung*, vol. viii. p. 181,

No. 3; *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, I. Pl. xxi. fig. 8; The Inscription, Pl. xxii.

point is not a sharp one, but is more or less rounded, it is itself of a shape not so well calculated for offence as those which have a broader and thinner blade. At the same time it is admirably constructed for bearing upon it an inscription.

A second, in form much like the last mentioned, was found, June 7, 1879, at the northern part of the Prytaneum.¹ It is inscribed upon three of the four faces of the blade as follows: **ΣΚΥΛΑ ΑΠΟ ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΟΙ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΑΝ ΔΙΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΙ ΔΕΚΑΤΑΝ.** In this case the dedication to Zeus is expressly stated. The time also when it was offered can be fixed in one direction with absolute precision, for this could not have taken place before B.C. 443, in which year Thurium was founded. It was probably dedicated not many years after that time, when Tarentum undertook a war against the Thuriens on account of the endeavour of the latter state to possess itself of the district of the Siritis.

A third, imperfect at each end, was found February 9, 1878, at the north-east corner of the Byzantine wall.² Though in general form like the two just noticed, it differs from them to some extent in the socket, and also in the way in which the socket joins the blade. It is inscribed, the letters running from point to base, with **ΣΙΚΥΩΝ**, in very archaic characters, and the word is preceded by a straight line. In the opinion of Herr A. Kirchhoff the letters are of Corinthian or Achaean form, and he thinks that it was dedicated by some one who had taken it as spoil from Sicyon. The probability, however, is that it was a Sicyonic dedication, and that it records a victory of that state rather than a defeat.

Two others have been found at Olympia. One, February 4, 1879, at the south-west corner of the Prytaneum, the other, March 4, 1879, within the Prytaneum. Both are imperfect, having the remains of an inscription upon the blade in each case, and in form they are like those already described. The first³ has . . . **Σ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΥ** upon it, written from the point towards the socket, in letters, according to Herr A. Kirchhoff, of Corinthian form. The **Σ** is probably the last letter of **Διός**,

¹ *Arch. Zeitung*, vol. xii. p. 149, No. 299.

181, Pl. 18, 4; *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, III. (1877-78), Pl. xxv. 1.

² *Arch. Zeitung*, vol. xi. p. 140, No.

³ *Arch. Zeitung*, xii. p. 160, No. 810.

and the spear was certainly dedicated to Zeus. The other,¹ which is much oxidised, the point also being wanting, has very little left of the inscription, the letters **ΗΔΕ ΣΤΩ . . .** alone remaining. In this case also it is impossible to decide anything with regard to the people or person who dedicated it, nor can anything be gathered from the few remaining letters as to the deity to whom it was offered. From the form of the letters and the use of **Η** and **Ω** it would appear to be of a somewhat later date than the other four found at Olympia.

It has been suggested to me by Mr. A. W. Franks, that these square-sided objects are not the blades but the butt ends of spears, the iron heads of which have disappeared through the decay of the metal, and that they were not, therefore, merely votive, but had formed a portion of spears which had been actually used in war. There can be no doubt that they would serve such a purpose, and indeed they are, not unlike some of the butt ends which are represented on vases,² and to some actual *οὐρίαχοι* which have been preserved down to the present day. Nor is it at all unlikely, or contrary to experience, that whilst the head of a spear should be made of iron, the other end should be made of bronze; and, in fact, spears so constructed, and belonging to the Early Iron Age, have been discovered in Ireland. It has further been suggested that as the spears would probably be suspended in the temple, and in an upright position, the butt end was the part nearest to the eye, and therefore the best fitted to bear the inscription. Plausible as these suggestions are, the probability on the whole is, I think, in favour of these bronze instruments having been the heads of spears. It does not seem likely that when a weapon was to be dedicated the less noble part of it should be selected to carry the inscription. The fact also of certainly five and probably six of these objects having been found at the same place, all made on the same model, even in their minute details, appears to be in favour of their being votive spear-heads rather than actual spear-butts. For had they been the latter they must have been parts of weapons for use, and it is not probable that fabricated, as in this case they must have been, and as the inscriptions upon some of them show, in places widely distant

¹ *Arch. Zeitung*, xii. p. 164, No. 325. *of Hellenic Studies*, has a butt of this

² A spear, engraved in the *Journal* form, vol. i. Pl. vi.

from each other, they should have been as identical as they are in form and construction. Whilst on the other hand their identity of form, which to a great extent implies their having been made at one and the same place, is quite consistent with their being the heads of spears, not, indeed, of those made for use in war, but for the purpose of being dedicated as representative and votive offerings. Their decorative features also are applied in a way which suggests that they were intended to be viewed from below and not from above, and the form, therefore, is one more suitable for the head of a spear than for the butt.

If it is granted that they are the heads of spears, the metal of which they are composed has an important bearing upon the question whether they were intended for use or were made specially for the purpose of being dedicated. It is certain that at the time to which they belong, one not earlier than the first quarter of the fifth century B.C., bronze, as a material for offensive weapons, had, to a great extent, if not altogether, passed out of use in Greece, and had been superseded by iron. The question, however, of the time when the use of bronze was discontinued, is one of much difficulty, and the evidence we possess is neither sufficiently abundant nor is it exact enough to admit of anything like a positive conclusion being arrived at. And indeed, as has been the case in all transitions from the use of one material to another, we must suppose that there was a period, and possibly a lengthened one, when the two metals, bronze and iron, overlapped each other and remained in use side by side, until at length the more serviceable, as it was also the more abundant and therefore cheaper material, displaced the other. A similar overlapping had certainly occurred in older days in the case of stone and bronze, of which there is authentic testimony in abundance.

It will not be necessary here to enter upon a discussion as to the origin of the manufacture of bronze or iron, or of the country in which either of these metals may have been first discovered and utilized. It may, however, be briefly stated that these discoveries took place somewhere in Asia, and from thence travelled westward under the influence of the civilizations which founded empires and distributed arts and manufactures at a period infinitely before that to which these dedicatory weapons belonged.

There are two questions, however, which, having an important reference to the subject of this paper, it may be advisable shortly to consider: the time, namely, when iron was introduced into the countries occupied by the Hellenic people, and that when the earlier known metal, bronze, became entirely disused by them for offensive purposes. The period represented by the Homeric poems cannot be placed later than the ninth century B.C., if, indeed, it be not somewhat earlier. At that time it is evident that iron, although in use, had not been known for very long, and we may therefore assume that epoch to have been, more or less, synchronous with the introduction of iron among the Hellenes. It is in the poems in question always spoken of as being more valuable than bronze, which appears to have been then the commoner metal, as it naturally would be in consequence of the accumulation which must have gone on during many preceding ages. Still, though of comparatively late introduction, its properties appears to have been well known, for in the *Odyssey*,¹ Homer, in relating the putting out the eye of Polyphemus, uses the following simile—

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς πέλεκυν μέγαν ἢ σκέπαρον
εἰν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ βάπτῃ μεγάλα ἱάχοντα,
φαρμάσσω· τὸ γὰρ αὖτε σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστίν.

Now in the case of a metal of which ores are so abundant and so generally diffused as are those of iron, it can scarcely be conceived that, when once people became able to smelt and manufacture it, and when its usefulness in various ways was understood, it should not have come quickly into ordinary, if not exclusive, use. Upon the ground then simply of development—and the force of this argument is not lessened when we are dealing with a people so intellectual and practical as were the Greeks—we cannot doubt that iron became the ordinary material for arms of offence at no long interval after the period represented by Homer. That in the time of Pindar (and Anacreon, an earlier poet, witnesses to the same) iron was the metal in use for weapons is clear from his employing such a term as 'iron war,' and speaking of a country being destroyed by 'fire and iron,' as we should talk of fire and sword. At the

¹ ix. 391.

same time he writes as if bronze was still in use, though possibly it may be by poetic licence, for he speaks of bronze spears and calls them brazen-cheeked, and tells of limbs wounded with bronze, and of bronze axes.

Herodotus also in his relation of the death of Cyrus, B.C. 528, by the Massagetae, says they pointed their spears and tipped their arrows with bronze, and used axes of the same metal, iron not being found in their country.¹ This seems to imply that it was in his experience an unusual occurrence, and that iron was in ordinary use for such purposes in his own country. The evidence afforded by the paintings on vases, where swords and other weapons are frequently depicted, appears to show that about B.C. 500, and even later, the bronze sword was still employed. It is, perhaps, not possible to say with certainty that the leaf-shaped sword represented in these pictures was made of bronze, but the probability is strongly in favour of that being the case. The form is not one to which iron naturally adapts itself, and though, on the first introduction of the metal, swords were fashioned for a short time on the older bronze model, that very soon passed away, and the sword assumed a shape more consistent with the metal of which it was made. It is also possible that the swords in these pictures may be somewhat conventionally represented after an earlier pattern, the scenes themselves being mythological and heroic.

It may, I think, then be confidently assumed that in the early years of the fifth century B.C. iron had become the ordinary metal for offensive weapons, though it is possible that some made of the older bronze may have continued in use. But granting this, it appears to be scarcely likely that spear-heads of bronze for purposes of war should have been so numerous at that period that five or six should have been discovered on the site of a single temple, and which themselves could only have constituted a very small part of those once dedicated there.

Having in these prefatory remarks given a brief account of other and, in some particulars, similar objects, and taken note of one or two questions connected with them, I now come to

¹ Lib. i. cap. 215.

the consideration of the spear-head which it is the purpose of the present paper to describe and illustrate. (Plate XI.)

I have been unable to trace it further than to Athens, and into the hands of a Greek whose account is that it was found in the Peloponnesus. From him it was obtained, during the summer of 1880, by Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent, the well-known and eminent dealers of Paris and London. Though I fear it is quite impossible to ascertain with any certainty the place of its finding, I have no doubt, and my reason for this opinion will appear in the sequel, that it was discovered at Olympia. If this be true, it suggests itself at once that it was found during the course of the late excavations; but I am inclined to believe, on account of its general appearance, and more especially from the nature of the patina upon it, that it has not been disinterred so lately, but that some years may have passed since it first came to light.

It is $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, of which what must be denominated the blade occupies $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The hollow of the socket, which is $\frac{3}{8}$ in. wide, extends to a distance of $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches into the body of the weapon. The metal of which it is composed is bronze, but the exact nature of its composition cannot be stated, as it has not been analysed. It is now coated with a thin, dark-coloured patina, having upon it, here and there, patches of oxide of a light green colour. The socket, which has no rivet holes, is round at its extremity for the space of an inch, and then becomes dodecagonal up to the base of the blade, where three raised and rounded bands, a larger between two smaller ones, encircle it and form the division between the blade and socket. The blade is four-sided, gradually tapering and terminating at one end in a blunt point, and at the other passing, after a very graceful fashion, from the square into the round by being chamfered and forming four leaves, the leaf-like appearance of the chamfer being caused by continuing the angles of the blade down as far as the surrounding bands at the base. In form it corresponds very closely with those lately discovered at Olympia, and indeed so much alike are some of them that at first sight it might be thought that they had been cast in the same mould; a closer inspection, however, shows minute differences. It is inscribed on three of the four faces of the blade, the words being written from base to point, and

before each word is a straight line the width of the face on which it is placed. The letters have not been engraved, but made by the application of a narrow-faced punch.

The inscription, *Θεόδωρος ἀνέθηκε βασιλεῖ*, easy of solution as it is in some particulars, is in other respects obscure. With regard to Theodoros, who he was, and upon what occasion he dedicated the spear, it is impossible even to offer a suggestion. The name is by no means an uncommon one, and there is nothing connected with any person of the name known in history to enable us to fix upon him as the dedicator. With reference to the occasion there is absolutely nothing to afford any clue to a solution.

It will have been observed that in all the cases of dedicatory weapons already referred to, where the inscription is sufficiently preserved to admit of its being read in its entirety, they have been dedicated by States. It may be said that Hieron dedicates the helmet from Cumae, but it is as ruler of Syracuse, and indeed in conjunction with the Syracusans, that he does so. This spear-head, however, is an offering from a private individual, made most probably in recognition of some personal success or deliverance from danger in war. Such dedications we know were sufficiently frequent, but it is interesting to have the actual offering itself handed down to us.

The word *βασιλεύς* in connection with the inscription offers a subject of inquiry which, though it is important, is one not difficult to solve. That Zeus is the *βασιλεύς* to whom the spear-head was dedicated scarcely admits of a doubt. In the first place dedications to Zeus are, on the whole, more common than are those to any other divinity, and especially of such offerings as are connected with war and victory. But there is more positive evidence. Though it occurs in connection with other deities, as for instance Apollo, Asklepios, Herakles, &c., the word is found applied to Zeus so frequently that it is certain it was an appellation as common as it is descriptive. No more natural appellation, indeed, can be conceived of the great head of the hierarchy of the Hellenic religion, *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*, the *ἀναξ ἀνάκτων* and *θεῶν ὑπατος καὶ ἄριστος*, than *βασιλεύς*. And, as might be expected, the

corresponding βασιλῆς is found in connection with Hera.¹ It may be well, however, to cite some instances of the occurrence, inasmuch as it does not appear that the term has been generally recognized as one commonly applied to the ruler of Olympus.

An inscription on a slab of marble which has the word βασιλεὺς, without anything, however, in addition to identify the divinity intended, has been discovered on the Akropolis at Athens. It reads Σοφοκλῆς βασιλεῖ ἀνέθηκεν), and Rangabé, no doubt correctly, attributes it to Zeus.²

Boeckh³ has an inscription from a marble found in the Island of Paros, where a priest is thus described : Σωσθένης Προσθένου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ βασιλέως. And at Lebadeia, as we learn from Pausanias,⁴ there was a temple of Zeus, who was designated βασιλεὺς. He writes, Ἀναβᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, καὶ αὐτόθεν ἰοῦσιν εἰς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ ὄρους, Κόρης ἐστὶ καλουμένη θήρα καὶ Διὸς βασιλέως ναός ; and a little further on, θύει γὰρ δὴ ὁ κατιῶν αὐτῷ τε τῷ Τροφονίῳ . . . καὶ Διὶ ἐπικλησιν βασιλεῖ. At Lebadeia itself, now Livadhia, Colonel Leake⁵ found and copied an inscription which unquestionably has reference to Zeus, though on account of the imperfect condition of the marble the name of the god is now wanting. It reads, Νέων Φάσκω(νος) ἀγωνοθετε(σας) τὰ βασιλεια τὸ ἐλεοχρίσ(ιον) ἀνέθηκε τοῖ (Διὶ) τοῖ βασιλεῖ . . . πόλι. In connection with the worship of Zeus Basileus at Lebadeia Plutarch⁶ tells a melancholy story, the result of Straton of Orchomenos falling in love with a beautiful girl, Aristocleia of Haliartos, whom he saw bathing at the fountain Hercyna, ἔμελλε γὰρ τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ κληφορεῖν.

The appellation as distinguishing Zeus is not met with in Homer, who uses ἀναξ in this sense, with reference, however, to Apollo, but it occurs in the *Theogonia* of Hesiod :⁷

Ζεὺς δὲ θεῶν βασιλεὺς πρῶτην ἄλοχον θέτο Μῆτιν
Πλεῖστα θεῶν εἰδυῖαν ἰδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

¹ Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* No. 1603, 4004, 4367f.

² *Antiquités Helléniques*, vol. ii. p. 731, No. 1032.

³ *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* vol. ii. p. 347, No. 2385.

⁴ Lib. ix. cap. 39.

⁵ *Travels in Northern Greece*, vol. ii. p. 130.

⁶ *Anatoriæ Narrationes*, Opera, Ed. Oxon. 1797, vol. iv. p. 95.

⁷ Line 886.

In the *Fragmenta* of Orpheus the same term is applied to the God:¹

Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς, Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχιγένηθλος.

As, indeed, we might expect, Zeus is several times addressed as Basileus in Pindar. Thus in *Olympia*, Carmen vii.:

ἔνθα ποτὲ βρέχε θεῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας χρυσέαις
νιφάδεσσι πόλιν.

And again in *Isthmia*, Carmen vii.:

πατὴρ οὐνεκα δίδυμαι γέγοντο θύγατρ' Ἀσωπίδων
ὀπλόταται, Ζηνὶ τε ἄδον βασιλεῖ.

Aristophanes twice in the *Nubes* and again in the *Vespæ* apostrophizes Zeus:

ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ!

And in the *Ranae*:

ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ τὸ χρῆμα τῶν κόπων ὅσον!

Hippocrates also in his *Epistola ad Damagetum*:²

ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, φημι, εὐκαίρως γε ἀντιγράφεις πρὸς τὴν πόλιν.

Other passages might be adduced from the *Agamemnon*³ and *Persæ*⁴ of Aeschylus, and from the *Anabasis* of Xenophon,⁵ but enough has been done to show that the term βασιλεὺς as applied to Zeus was not unfrequently used by poets and other writers, and that too at an early time, earlier indeed in some instances than the probable date of the spear-head. That date cannot, I think, be placed after the middle of the fifth century B.C., taking into consideration the form of the letters, as well as the use of O and E instead of the later Ω and Η, and it may perhaps claim to be referred to the first quarter of the same century if not quite to its commencement. The letters do not emphatically point to any particular locality for the place of manufacture, and so far as they are concerned the spear-head

¹ Ed. Lipsiae, 1805, p. 457.

² Ed. Paris 1679, p. 20.

³ Ed. Dindorf, l. 355.

⁴ Line 532.

⁵ Liber vi. cap. 1.

may have been inscribed in any part of the Peloponnesus or in Phokis, Argolis, or Boeotia. With regard to the place where the spear-head was offered, if the dedication to Zeus, which may perhaps be taken for granted, be admitted, the probability is very strong that it was an offering made to that deity in his world-renowned temple at Olympia. This probability becomes almost a certainty when it is compared with those which are known to have been found there, and with which in shape and style of manufacture it is so identical. From the consideration of this similarity a further question arises. Were not all these dedicatory spear-heads made at the same place and by the same school of artificers? It may, indeed, be conceived that articles intended for use might be made, as regards their general form, much alike in different places, on account of a common purpose or requirement, yet when objects, as in the case of the spear-heads, are met with almost counterparts of one another, except in the inscriptions upon them, the presumption is very strong that they come from the same workshop. Nor is it difficult to fix upon the place where they were probably manufactured. It may confidently be inferred, though there is no direct evidence to prove it, that, where offerings were frequently being made, a stock of such articles as were likely to be required should be kept in hand by the officials in connection with the temple where it was intended to dedicate them. In this way the convenience of the person dedicating and the profit of the temple would equally be consulted. We may therefore suppose that Theodoros bought the spear-head at Olympia, and had the inscription engraved upon it at the same time and place. It may be objected that the fact of one of the spear-heads having been dedicated by the Tarentines from Thurian spoil is inconsistent with this view. But to this it may be replied that some of the captured arms were brought to Olympia and there recast into a new form, and one more suitable to the votive purpose they were intended to serve. That such a process was by no means unfrequent we learn from the account given by Pausanias of many of the articles dedicated at Olympia and Delphi. Among these there was none more noteworthy, on account of the occasion on which it was offered, than the golden tripod supported on the bronze stand of twisted serpents given to Apollo by the Greeks after the victory at Plataea. The stand,

mutilated, but still retaining upon it the names of the several dedicating States, still remains in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, to which it was removed from Delphi by Constantine, the most glorious ἀνάθημα in existence.

W. GREENWELL.

On the vases of terra cotta in the form of a helmeted head of which Canon Greenwell writes (pp. 69–70), a new light is cast by a paper by M. Léon Heuzey which has just appeared in the *Gazette Archéologique* (1880, No. 5, pp. 145–164). M. Heuzey engraves a specimen from Cos which closely resembles those from Rhodes in the British Museum, and a still more interesting specimen which has reached the Louvre from Corinth. This latter is made not of terra cotta but of Egyptian porcelain, and on it is painted the cartouche of the Egyptian King called by the Greeks Apries, who ruled B.C. 599–569. It is, however, probable that the place of its manufacture was not Egypt but Phoenicia, whence it made its way to Corinth. That it should date from the beginning of the sixth century is just what we should, on grounds of style, have judged to be probable. It is at once evident that this little vase gives us very important evidence as to the origin and date of the whole class to which it belongs.

P. G.

STAIRS TO PANDROSEUM AT ATHENS.

MR. MURRAY'S suggestion, in the last issue of *Hellenic Studies*, that a great flight of steps led from the higher level of the ground between the Parthenon and the Erechtheum to the court of the Pandroseum, is certainly ingenious, and on first sight so plausible, that many no doubt will accept it as explaining a difficult point on the topography of the Acropolis at Athens. There are, however, reasons which induce me to hesitate before admitting it to be a solution of the problem, while as the question which it raises is both interesting and important, I am desirous of an opportunity for stating some of the reasons which make me pause before assenting to his proposal.

In the first place, a flight of steps extending 70 feet in one direction and with the return measuring nearly 100 feet altogether, is so remarkable a feature, that it is difficult to understand how it comes that neither Pausanias, nor any other author, ancient or modern, makes any allusion to it. Even the celebrated dog of Philochorus who—after Pausanias—is the most important witness for the arrangement of this temple, would hardly have rushed through the Temple of Minerva Polias, down into the Pandroseum, had this magnificent flight of stairs afforded him far more obvious access to the altar of Jupiter Herceios under the olive-tree, where he sought shelter.

It is not alluded to in the inscription of 409 B.C. on which so much of our knowledge of this temple depends; but that may easily be accounted for. A flight of steps if once fairly established, is not a work likely to require immediate repair, and would not therefore be alluded to in that inscription. A Stoa, however, is mentioned there (lines 142 to 177) as

situated somewhere in this immediate vicinity. I placed it in the exact position occupied by Mr. Murray's stairs,¹ which, of course, renders their erection there impossible. This being so, will he point out where this Stoa stood? Or is he prepared to deny its existence altogether? In a controversy of this sort, it is indispensable that all the circumstances of the case should be taken into account; if any are omitted it may turn out that the absence of their evidence may vitiate the whole argument.

These are, however, comparatively minor objections, sufficient perhaps to make any one pause and demand further evidence before admitting the existence of these stairs, but not such as to prove that they may not at some time have been placed there for some purpose or other.

The first serious objection appears to be their absolute inutility. It seems most unlikely, to say the least of it, that any one would provide a flight of steps extending from 70 to 100 feet, as a means of access to a court measuring about 25 feet at its widest part, and fading off to nothing at its western extremity; supposing there were no buildings in it. The stairs, in fact, occupy very much more space than the court to which they lead. That the court was inclosed by a wall on its north side is quite certain, from the foundations that still exist, as well as from the elaborate manner in which it was arranged that the refuse of the altar was got rid of under the steps of the northern portico.² It was entered on that side by a doorway $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, under the northern portico of the Erechtheum, and to contend that on its southern side it was entered by an open flight of stairs 70 feet in extent, seems most improbable.

It is possible to conceive that a procession may have wished to enter the Pandroseum from the south side, but supposing that to be the case, a flight of stairs 10 or 12 feet wide would have been ample for that purpose. It will hardly be contended that any Greek architect in the great age would have used a flight 70 feet in extent when the smaller number would have sufficed. I know of no such an excess of the required accommodation being anywhere provided in any true style of architecture. At the same time there is no evidence that any necessity

¹ *Sessional Papers*, R.I.B.A., 1876-7, p. 139 *et seq.*

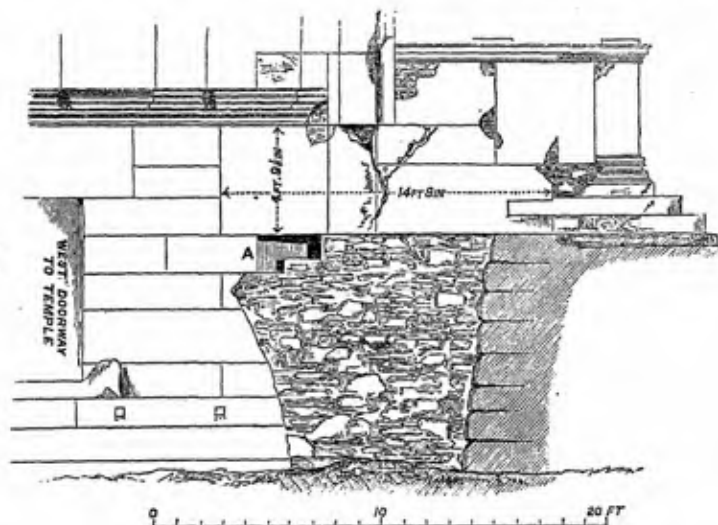
² Boetticher, *Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis zu Athen*, Figs. 39 to 43.

existed for an entrance on this side. On the contrary, ample means is provided for access to the court on all sides from which it was likely to be approached. A procession coming from the Parthenon (the east end, of course,) would pass down the stairs which did, and do exist, on the north side of the Erechtheum, and would enter by the door under the northern portico just alluded to. This was the way Pausanias took,¹ though he made a detour into the temple itself, as was natural, *en route*. A procession coming from the Propylaea would keep on the lower level throughout, and enter by the same door under the north portico, which is the only one of which the existence is certain, and which was quite sufficient for all purposes. The court, so far as can be ascertained, contained only the sacred olive-tree, under which stood the altar of Jupiter Herceios; the small cell of the virgin Pandrosos, and the residence of the two virgins regarding whose wanderings Pausanias tells so strange a tale. The public had evidently no business in this secluded court, and could not possibly have required such means of access as Mr. Murray's scheme provides for them, especially as besides the doorway under the north portico, there was also an entrance to this court from the Temple of Minerva Polias itself, by the doorway in the west end of that temple, which is the one by which, I conceive, the dog of Philochorus entered. That, however, was probably reserved for the priesthood, and them only.

A second obvious objection arises from the condition of the western wall of the Erechtheum at the point where, according to Mr. Murray, this flight of steps would naturally have 'tailed into the wall.' There is in fact exactly in this position, a sinking in the wall which is one of the most remarkable, and at the same time the most mysterious features in the whole design of the temple. It is distinctly shown in Inwood's Plate II., in the *Πρακτικά*, Plate 2, and in photographs in my possession. Still its dimensions cannot be exactly ascertained in consequence of its south edge being partially hidden by the terrace wall, and its base not being quite freed from rubbish; while its northern edge, now at least, seems somewhat irregular, but this may be owing to its being filled up by rubble masonry in modern

¹ *Sessional Papers*, R.I.B.A., 1876-7, p. 142.

times, which makes it impossible to say what its original form may have been. Its upper edge can however be easily traced, and is perfectly horizontal for at least 10 feet, and in height is about the same. Practically it is a square frame, or sinking,



Elevation of part of the West Front of the Temple of Minerva Polias from the *Практика*.

measuring 10 feet each way. No one apparently has measured its depth, though as the rubble masonry has been removed from its northern upper angle, at *A* in woodcut, nothing would be easier to ascertain. The west wall of the temple where thickest is only 2 feet 4 inches, and so far as can be ascertained from photographs, this is reduced on the back of this sinking to about one half, say 1 foot to 14 inches. It does not go through as it is not visible on the inside, where the masonry is of the usual microlithic character throughout. The original architects of the temple were so fully aware of the danger that was incurred by this extreme attenuation of one of the main walls of the building, that they placed over it a great stone, shown in the annexed woodcut, measuring 14 feet 9 inches in length, by 4 feet 8½ inches in height, or equal to three courses of the ordinary masonry of the wall, and altogether this stone is

probably three or four times larger than any other stone used in the building. It was bonded into the masonry of the main wall to the extent of about two feet at its northern extremity, and assuming that it was supported to the same extent at its southern end, the width of the sinking of its upper edge would again be about 10 feet. For whatever purpose this great stone was placed where we now find it, one thing is at least evident: it was not for the purpose of producing effect by megalithic inagnificence. The mouldings of the pilasters above it are carried across it, and at its southern end a portion is nicked out of it in order to accommodate the lines of masonry there, so that in fact it looks to the eye like three or even four separate stones instead of one.

Assuming the facts to be as just stated, and on this point there seems no margin for doubt, the question arises, for what purpose did the original architects of the temple take such pains to provide this sinking, so unsymmetrical with all the other features of the façade, and apparently not only so useless, but, as it turns out, so dangerous?¹

Various answers may no doubt be given to this question. I suggested that the sinking was managed to receive the end of the flat-roofed Stoa, which I believe existed in this place. I did so because, as any architect well knows, if a flat-roofed stone building is made to abut flush on the perpendicular wall of an adjacent edifice, it is indispensable, either that one course of the larger building should project from the wall, or that a sinking should be left into which the roof stones of the lower building should be inserted, otherwise it is impossible to secure a water-tight joint without the use of metal flashings, which in this case were not of course used. I am aware there may be difficulties in accepting this solution which it is not at present necessary to allude to, but, so far as I can judge, it is the most plausible theory that has yet been suggested.

If it were not to receive the end of the Stoa, is it possible that the sinking was made to frame and protect some painting

¹ That it was dangerous is proved by the fact that this great stone is now cracked right through, and it seems to have been to prevent the total ruin

that would have ensued had it fallen, that the rubble masonry which now disfigures this part of the front was inserted.

connected with the *ἄγαλμα* in the niche,¹ placed somewhat unsymmetrically above it? It is needless however pursuing these conjectures further in this place, as it seems clear that for whatever purpose it was made, it was not that a stair should pass diagonally across it. Had such a flight of steps as Mr. Murray proposes been part of the original design, the first care of the architects would have been to thicken and strengthen the masonry at this point, if it was intended to insert the steps into the wall—to hang them, in fact, according to modern phraseology. It is not clear whether this process was known to the Greeks, but even if it were, it is only applicable to stairs 3 to 4 feet wide, and would be absurd if used with steps extending 70 or 80 feet. Such a flight might abut anywhere on any wall, as no leak was possible and no closed joint necessary, and consequently no sinking or projection wanted to protect the junction. The fact is, if a flight of steps had originally been intended here, the foundation of the wall would have been stepped on the mass of masonry necessary to support the steps, and would inevitably have been visible at the present day. It need hardly be remarked that the upper triangular half of the sinking, which would remain visible above the steps if placed here, would have been artistically as awkward and unmeaning as it would have been constructively unreasonable.

A third objection I must urge is even more tangible than the other two, as it is in its nature wholly constructive and mechanical. This great flight of steps must have rested on something solid; earth would not support them; they must, in fact, have been bedded on masonry of some sort, probably rubble or concrete, forming a triangular mass 10 feet high, by the same width at least, and with a hypotenuse of about 14 feet. A Roman architect, to save materials, might have framed an arch inside abutting against the inner wall, and filled up the spandrels so as to get a straight line; but however constructed it must have been such a mass, that it seems almost impossible it should have disappeared so completely that no trace of it can now be found. But more than this, had such a triangular mass of masonry existed here, its inner face would have formed the best possible support to the terrace. It seems inconceivable that

¹ *Sessional Papers*, R.I.B.A., 1878-9, p. 218, *et seq.*

the Greeks should first have built the rough-faced terrace wall that now exists, and then placed in front of it the mass of masonry necessary to support these steps, and still more inconceivable that no trace of this masonry should be found attached to that wall or entangled among its rugosities. The steps, if they ever existed, were probably in marble, and their disappearance is consequently easily intelligible, like that of the seats in so many theatres; but the mass that supported these seats remains in almost every ancient theatre known, and would certainly have at least left some trace here had it ever existed.

There are several minor objections which might be urged against Mr. Murray's proposal, but the three just insisted upon are probably sufficient to justify any one in pausing before accepting it without at least farther explanations, as a final solution of a difficult problem.

It does not seem necessary that I should say anything in this place, with reference to Professor Michaelis' restoration of the interior of the temple, which Mr. Murray adopts, as I have already explained, in a supplement to a paper I read to the Institute of British Architects in 1876,¹ my reasons for considering it untenable. It has besides no direct bearing on the subject of this paper, and need not therefore be specially alluded to in this place.

J. FERGUSSON.

¹ *Sessional Papers*, R.I.B.A., 1878-9, p. 218, *et seq.*



BOAT-RACES AMONG THE GREEKS.

IN the course of a careful examination of the coins of Corcyra, I have come upon a variety of types which seem to me to allude to races of galleys. That the Greeks had such races is in itself probable, and is clearly proved by the testimony of ancient writers. But on consulting the ordinary works on the games and races of the Greeks, as well as those which deal with naval archæology, I have found that the matter has hitherto almost entirely escaped observation. I therefore feel called on to add a new chapter, which will indeed be but a short one, to the history of Greek athletic sports. And I imagine that Englishmen, who take so much interest in the races of yachts and rowing-boats, will not be ungrateful to me if I am able to show that such races are of greater antiquity than is commonly imagined.

That galley-races are as old as Homer may seem a rash assertion; yet this does seem to be implied in a passage of the *Odyssey*, though it is not directly asserted. This passage occurs in the 8th book of the *Odyssey*, at the place where Alcinoüs is

speaking of the aptness in athletic sports of his subjects the Phaeacians. He says:—

οὐ γὰρ πυγμάχοι εἰμὲν ἀμύμονες οὐδὲ παλαισταὶ
ἀλλὰ ποσὶ κραιπνῶς θέομεν καὶ νηυσὶν ἄριστοι.

Now there is no doubt that in Homer's day boxing wrestling and running were alike subjects of competition for prizes in the games held on various occasions; and thus it seems likely that galley-rowing, which is here put in close connexion with them, was also in Homeric times a subject of competition for prizes. It will not of course do to put into the words of Homer more meaning than they really contain, or to regard them as any positive proof of the existence at so early a time of galley-races. They only establish a probability when read in connexion with other evidence which we have yet to adduce.

Another piece of evidence relating to the heroic age is conveyed in a passage of Dion Chrysostom,¹ which we must cite at length in view of its importance. The orator is describing the foundation of the Isthmian contest, and says that at the first celebration many noted Greek heroes contended, Castor winning in the Stadium, Peleus in wrestling, Orpheus in playing the lyre, and so forth. He then continues: ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ νεῶν ἀμίλλα, καὶ Ἀργῶ ἐνίκᾳ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔπλευσεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπέγραψεν, ὃ λέγουσιν Ὀρφῶς εἶναι.

Ἀργῶ τὸ σκάφος εἰμὶ, θεῷ δ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἰάσων,
Ἰσθμία καὶ Νεμέοις στεφάμενον πίτυσιν.

The reading of the second line of the stanza attributed to Orpheus is certainly corrupt. Boat-races can never have taken place at Nemea, as the games there were celebrated in a narrow inland valley. Besides, the pine-wreath belonged not to the Nemea, where parsley was used, but to the Isthmia exclusively. We must therefore substitute for the words καὶ Νεμέοις, καλλι-κόμοις or some such word. The stanza will then record only an Isthmian victory. Whatever be the value of the story repeated by Dion, it certainly furnishes a proof that in his day, and probably at a far earlier period, a galley-race formed

¹ *Orat. Corinth.* xxxvii. T. ii. p. 107, R.

part of the Isthmian festival. For the story under any other circumstances would scarcely have been invented.

It is strange, that although the seat of the Isthmian games was one of the busiest sites of Greece between Corinth and Athens, yet we know but little about their celebration.

Descending to the time of the Persian wars, we may cite the delightful description by Herodotus of the review held at Abydos by Xerxes, of his fleet and army.¹ As part of this review took place a *νεῶν ἄμιλλα*, that is, as some of the editors expressly state, a race not a mimic fight of ships. On this occasion the Sidonians were victorious, and the sight gave much pleasure to the great king.

So far as my researches go, there is no passage of the writers of the good period which bears any positive testimony to the racing of Greek galleys for a prize. But Thucydides in speaking of the start of the Athenian fleet for Sicily,² says that the ships sailing out in line *ἄμιλλαν ἤδη μέχρι Δελίνης ἐποιούντο*. And at a somewhat later period Iphicrates, when in command of an Athenian fleet, trained the ships to row at speed in the following manner; he ranged them out at sea in a line, and at a given signal despatched them all together towards the shore, when it was considered a great triumph (*μέγα νικητήριον*) to be first to reach the land, and to secure the water and the other things of which they had need.³ But neither in the case of the earlier fleet nor in that of Iphicrates, do we hear anything of prizes.

Distinct mention of these latter is, however, made in a passage of Arrian, to which my attention has kindly been directed by Mr. Edmond Warre, of Eton, who is as well acquainted with everything connected with ancient shipping as he is with modern boats and the practice of rowing. Arrian⁴ says that when Alexander the Great was resting at Babylon with his fleet, he encouraged emulation between the different vessels and instituted competitions of rowers and steersmen, giving wreaths to the winners. These competitions would naturally take the form of races over a fixed course, wherein the skill, both of rowers and of steersmen, would be tested.

Among the greater athletic festivals of Greece, the Isthmia alone probably included boat-racing. But we have the express

¹ *Herod.* vi. 44.

² vi. 32.

³ Xenophon, *Hell.* vi. 2, 23.

⁴ *Anab.* 23, 5.

testimony of Stephanus Byzantinus, that they were part of the festival at Actium. His words are ἐν ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν καὶ ἵππικὸς καὶ πλοίων ἄμιλλα διὰ τριητηρίδος ἦν. Now at the outset it is well to confess that this testimony is by no means unexceptionable. In the first place, the Actian contest was not held every third year, but as we know from Strabo, every fifth;² Stephanus, therefore, is not entirely to be trusted. Secondly, since, as every one knows, the Actian festival was established by Augustus, the πλοίων ἄμιλλα may perhaps have been a mere ναυμαχία, such as the Romans loved and had already become accustomed to. But here again we may again turn to Strabo³ who says that Augustus did but revive an old festival (στεφανίτης ἀγών) which had long been held in honour of the Actian Apollo. If so, it is at least probable that the contest of ships belonged to the old festival, in which case, it can scarcely have been anything but a race. The third doubt as to the testimony of Stephanus arises from the fact that both Strabo and Dion Cassius, in mentioning the institution of the Actian festival, say nothing as to its including a boat-race. But this difficulty is obviated, if not removed, when we further consider that these same two writers also omit all mention of the musical contest which we know from the most satisfactory of testimony, that of inscriptions,⁴ to have been a part of the festival. On the whole then it seems not unreasonable to accept the testimony of Stephanus, and to suppose that the festival of Apollo Actius included from early times a race of galleys.

It is quite certain⁵ that a boat-race, νεῶν ἄμιλλα, was part of the Panathenaic Festival. This took place near the harbour of Piræus and the tomb of Themistocles, so that Plato the comedian writes of that monument—

τοὺς τ' ἐκπλέοντας ἐισπλέοντάς τ' ὄψεται
χώπότην ἄμιλλα τῶν νεῶν θεάσεται.

Every classical scholar will think, the moment a race of galleys is mentioned, of the elaborate description in the 5th book of the *Aeneid* of the race between triremes of the fleet of Aeneas, in which Cloanthus was first and carried off the laurel-

¹ s.v. Actia.

² Strabo vii. 7, 6.

³ L. c.

⁴ C. I. No. 1720.

⁵ Michaelis; *Parthenon*, pp. 212, 327.

wreath of victory. Whence Virgil gained a hint of these races we know not and shall never know for certain, but if we allow that such took place regularly at the Actian festival which Augustus founded, we shall be some steps nearer to understanding the phenomenon. There is a very curious note by Servius appended to Virgil's account of the race.¹ 'Punico bello primo naumachiam ad exercitium instituere Romani.' From this it would seem that Servius confused things so entirely dissimilar as a race of ships and a mimic fight at sea. It is quite true that the latter was familiar to the Romans. We read for instance in Livy,² that Scipio held a sham fight of ships before setting out for Carthage. And these were known also to the Greeks of the same times. Livy³ tells us that Nabis, the cruel tyrant of Sparta, had frequent sea-fights for practice, which he calls 'simulacra navalis pugnae.' But these sham fights seem to us to be of a totally different character from galley-races, such as that described by Virgil, and we do not easily see how the mind of Servius could run on from one to the other.

If, as is probable, the Romans borrowed even the *ναυμαχία* proper from the Greeks, *à fortiori* they must have borrowed the race of galleys, a thing in nature foreign to the genius of the less nautical Roman people. This being the case, it is interesting to observe that the Isthmia and the festival of the Actian Apollo were held in a region, whence in a special degree Greek influences spread to Rome.

I believe myself to have discovered in the coins of the island of Corcyra clear traces of similar races won by the Corcyreans. This people, it should be observed, were a colony of Corinth, lived near the Actian promontory, and considered themselves to be the representatives of the Homeric Phaeacians, so that among them, if anywhere in Greece, we might expect boat-races to flourish.

COPPER COINS OF CORCYRA.

1. *Obv.*—Forepart of galley.

Rev.—K O Cantharus.

Names over the galley:—ΑΛΚΑ, ΕΛΕΤΘΕΡΙΑ, ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑ,
ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ, ΘΗΡΑ, ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑ, ΚΩΜΟΣ, ΚΥΠΡΙΣ,
ΛΑΟΝΙΚΑ?, ΝΙΚΑ, ΝΕΟΤΗΣ, ΠΑΛΛΑΣ, ΠΡΩΤΑ,
ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ, ΦΑΜΑ, ΦΩΣΦΟΡΟΣ.

¹ Ad. l. 114.

² xxix. 22.

³ xxxv. 26.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Dione.
Rev.—Ρ Prow; on its side, NIKΑ.
3. *Obv.*—Head of young Herakles.
Rev.—ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ ΦΑΛΑΚΡΟΞ. Prow; on its side, NIKΑ.
4. *Obv.*—Heads of Herakles and Corcyra.
Rev.—ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΞ. Prow; on its side, NIKΑ.
5. *Obv.*—Head of Septimius Severus.
Rev.—ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ Galley; on the prow, Nike, who holds wreath and palm.
6. *Obv.*—Head of Dionysus.
Rev.—Amphora, bound with wreath, of ivy or laurel.
7. *Obv.*—ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑ Head of Poseidon.
Rev.—ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑ Amphora; over it, wreath.
8. *Obv.*—Head of Dionysus.
Rev.—Ρ Pegasus on prow; in his mouth, palm (*silver coin*).
9. *Obv.*—Eagle standing; in field, wreath.
Rev.—ΚΟΡ Nike; holds acrostolium and wreath.

Several of these coins denote a close connexion between the goddess Nike and the ships of Corcyra. In No. 5 she stands on a prow (see cut); in No. 9 she holds the acrostolium, a symbol of naval victory. In No. 8 her place is taken by Pegasus, who stands like her on a ship and holds in his mouth her palm. Nike however, as is well known, although usually on coins she appears in connexion with the games, yet does sometimes occur as a memorial of victory in war. So it might perhaps be doubted whether her appearance on the coins of Corcyra may not have reference rather to military than agonistic triumphs. But several objections to this view make themselves felt. Thus, coin No. 5 dates from the reign of Septimius Severus. But at that time there could be no question of warlike triumphs for the people of Corcyra, who were of course mere subjects of Rome. Again, there appears frequently on the coins, an amphora either bound with a wreath (No. 6), or surmounted with a wreath (No. 7). It seems not unreasonable to suppose that this amphora may stand for the reward of victory in a race; such a vessel may have been presented, filled with wine, to the owner of a winning trireme; in which case we could the more readily understand the apparent connexion of the god Dionysus with the victorious galleys. It is a pity that we cannot attain to certainty as to the meaning of the word NIKΑ which is written on the side of the galley in

Nos. 2-4. It would appear, as we shall presently see, that Nike was an occasional name of a vessel at Corcyra, but the names of vessels on the coins of Corcyra are usually written above and not on them, and as the word NIKAI recurs under several magistrates and at various periods, it seems to have some general meaning. It is by no means impossible that the word Νίκη may here take the place of the figure of that deity which we elsewhere find (No. 5). It is, however, impossible to be sure.

On one set of our coins (No. 1) we have an interesting list of names of ships in the Corcyrean navy, ships, it may be, which had won prizes for their owners or equippers. The list is decidedly pleasing:—Courage, Liberty, Fair-fame, Good-order, Chace, Corcyra, Revel, Cypris, Victory, Youth, Pallas, Foremost, Preserver, Fame, Phosphorus.

As to the exact meaning of these pieces, or the occasions on which they were minted, we can scarcely venture to form a theory. But it is not rash to assume that if there were races of galleys in which Corcyrean ships competed, these coins would have some connexion with such races.

The imperial coins of Nicopolis, which was the scene of the Actian festival already mentioned, are very common. Their types seem to contain allusions to both the kinds of *πλοίων ἀμιλλαι* of which I have spoken. Sometimes we find vessels full of soldiers and engaged in warfare, either simulated or real. But sometimes, as in the coin of the reign of Gallienus figured in our cut, we see a vessel with rowers merely, who seem to be exerting all their strength and to be urged to still greater exertions by the pilot, or the *κελευστής*.¹

The coin of Corcyra, which is figured at the head of this paper, raises the interesting question whether in a Greek race of galleys, sails as well as oars would be allowed. The galley there represented is certainly under sail. Of course, according to our notions of sport, the raising of sails would entirely spoil the contest, but the Greeks may have thought otherwise. In fact, it is not likely that the galley-races of the Greeks would afford much interest to a modern athlete or oarsman. The construction of the galleys afforded little scope for skill in rowing, and the rowers were often slaves. The prize went no

¹ See also *Mus. Arigoni* II. xxi. 284, 288; xxvii. 323; xxviii. 393.

doubt to the owner or master who equipped the ship, and some of the honour may have rested with the steersman, but very little would attach to the mere rowers and sailors of the crew.

It is perhaps impossible to say whether the galley-races thus perhaps rewarded with an amphora of wine, and engaged in by Coreyrean vessels, were rowed at Coreyra, whether they were part of the Isthmian festival, or whether they were the races which took place, as we have seen, at the festival of Apollo Actius. The Dionysiac character of the prize would seem to speak in favour of their being Coreyrean. But, on the other hand, on the coins of Corinthian types issued from the mint of Leucas, near the Actian promontory, during the fourth century before our æra, we find indications which seem to point in the other direction. Thus on one stater we find as adjunct or symbol, the letter A in a wreath, and as this is a frequent type on the Roman coins of Nicopolis with undoubted reference to the Actian festival, we can scarcely be mistaken in seeing the same reference here. And so when on other staters of Leucas we find the same letter A in conjunction, not with a wreath, but with a prize amphora surmounted by a branch of ivy, this also would seem to refer to the Actia. And if so, the ivy-bound amphora of the coins of Coreyra might also belong to the Actian festival.

And in fact, as the people of Syracuse, Leontini, and Messana, and Philip of Macedon himself, placed on their coins types bearing allusion to Olympic victories, what more natural than that the great island of Western Greece should commemorate on its money the prowess of its citizens in the boat-races of Poseidon, Dionysus, or Apollo? Well could they say with Alcinoüs :—

*οὐ γὰρ πνυγμάχοι εἰμὲν ἀμύμονες οὐδὲ παλαισταὶ
ἀλλὰ ποσὶ κραιπνῶς θέομεν καὶ νηυσὶν ἄριστοι.*

PERCY GARDNER.

ON AN INSCRIPTION AT CAMBRIDGE: BOECKH,
C. I. G. 106.

THIS inscription, which affords no external indications of its origin, was published by Böckh among the Attic decrees on very slender grounds, which he himself practically recalls in the Appendix, *C. I. G.* vol. i. p. 900. With reason, therefore, Köhler in vol. ii. of new Berlin *Corpus* has not included it among the Attic decrees. In December 1880, I re-read this inscription, together with most of the other marbles in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. I verified the reading of the first line given by Dobree (Appendix to Rose's *Inscriptiones Graecae*), and adopted by Böckh, Appendix *l. c.* To the text of the decree there is therefore nothing to add, and it will suffice to append a copy of it in cursive. But I hope to show that the decree is from Halikarnassos, and to identify the revolution of Troezen to which it alludes.

§ 1. *Latter portion of a probouleuma:*

- [—Τρο-
ζήνι ἐν στήλῃ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ
Ζηνόδοτον Βαυκιδέως, ἐπειδὴ Τροζήνιοι γε-
γράφασιν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι τῷ πρὸς τὴν πό-
5 λιν ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γέγονε περὶ τὸν δῆμον
τὸν Τροζηνίων καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀφικόμενος
ἐβοήθησε καὶ συνηγωνίσατο αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν
ἐλευθερίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἐξαγωγήν
τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀξίως τῆς τε πατρίδος καὶ τῆς
10 οἰκειότητος καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς ὑπαρχούσης
τῇ πόλει πρὸς Τροζηνίους, καλέσαι δὲ αὐτ[ὸν]
καὶ εἰς πρυτανεῖον ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.

§ 2. *Rider moved in the ekklesia by Iatrokles :*

- Ἐδοξε τῷ δήμῳ Ἱατροκλῆς Πυθίωνος εἰπ[ε].
 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθότι ἡ βουλή ἐψηφίσατο, τὸ δὲ
 15 ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ Τροξηνίων ὁ προεβούλευ[σεν]
 ἡ βουλή ἀναγράψαι ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ σ[τῆ-
 σαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ἐπιμεληθ[ῆναι]
 δὲ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τοὺς ἐξεταστάς· τὸ [δὲ
 ἀνά]λωμα τὸ εἰς τὴν στήλην δοῦναι τὸ [ν τα-
 20 μίαν?]

The letters are of the early Macedonian times, with the forms **ΙΞΓΟΞ**, with no *apices*, and the *iota adscriptum* throughout. The stone is a white marble *stelé*, apparently sawn off at the top, and measuring now $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. Although the stone is probably imperfect at the bottom, the end of the decree is entire. But a good deal has been lost from the beginning, so that we have not the usual formulas of the date and heading to reveal what city it was to which Zenodotos belonged, and which voted this decree. Dobree thought it might be Keos or Delos. But I have little hesitation in connecting the decree with Halikarnassos. It is true that we have at present very few decrees from Halikarnassos of the ordinary type. (A) Only one such occurs in the inscriptions published by Mr. Newton, *Discoveries at Onidus, Halicarnassus and Branchidae*, II. p. 687; (B) another is given in the *Bulletin of the French school at Athens*, 1880, p. 395; where the date is assigned by naming the eponymous *πρύτανις* and the *γραμματεὺς*. (C) This agrees with the formula in the decree for the priestess of Artemis Pergaea now in the British Museum (*C. I. G.* 2656), where, however, as the subject of the decree is religious, the *νεωποιός* is named first of all, and the *prytanis* and secretary are made subordinate *εponymi*: [Ἐπὶ ν]εωποιοῦ Χαρμύλου τοῦ Διαγόρου, μηνὸς Ἑρα[κλε]ίου, | πρυτανείας τῆς μετὰ Μενεκλεῦς τοῦ Φορμίωνος, [γρ]αμματεύοντος Διοδότου τοῦ Ἡδονικοῦ. The indications of Halikarnassian origin in our decree are these. (1) The *stelé* is ordered to be placed ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος: similarly in B cited above, we have ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ [Ἀπ]όλλωνος as the place for the decree. (2) The financial board who are to contract for the inscribing the decree, expending money received from the treasurer (?), are called οἱ ἐξετασταί. An ἐξεταστής is

mentioned in Attic decrees of 299 and 295 B.C. (*C. I. A.* ii. 297, 300), but he is an officer of the tribe and not of the state, and is named together with the *trittarchs*: τὸν ἐξεταστὴν καὶ τοὺς τριττάρχους: the expenses of inscribing the honorary decree being thrown upon the tribe to which the man thus honoured might belong. A board of ἐξετασταί are named in two decrees from Ionian Erythrae published by Rangabé, *Antiq. Hell.* No. 737, 738: "Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στρατηγῶν, πρυτανέων, ἐξεταστῶν γνώμῃ κ.τ.λ. In a decree from Chios published by Gerhard and Kirchhoff, *Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1863, p. 265, respecting a statue we read τοὺς ἐξεταστὰς το[ύ]ς ἐνεστηκότ[α]ς ἐγδοῦναι τὸ ἔργον, the funds being supplied by ὁ κατὰ μῆνα ταμίης. Also οἱ ἐξετασταί are similarly mentioned upon a decree from Laodikeia (ad mare?) in honour of Prienian dikasts (which will appear among the Prienian inscriptions in the British Museum Collection). Lastly, at Halikarnassos, in *C. I. G.* 2656 (cited above as *C*), we read ἀνοιγόντων δὲ οἱ ἐξετασταί κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν θησαυρόν κ.τ.λ. When then in our decree we have ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τοὺς ἐξεταστὰς, the phrase indicates a *provenance* from Asia Minor, and will very well suit Halikarnassos. (3) The words τῆς οἰκειότητος καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τῇ πόλει πρὸς Τροζηνίους would be exactly appropriate to Halikarnassos, which was a colony from Troezen: some such tie of kindred is implied in οἰκειότητος. Slight as these indications may appear when considered separately, they have a cumulative force when taken together. And the historical indications will be found to confirm them. The character of the writing belongs to the early Macedonian times; and there is no occasion which so exactly accords with the expressions in the decree, as the 'liberation' of Troezen in B.C. 303, when Demetrios, son of Antigonos, marched from Athens into Peloponnese, and expelled the Macedonian garrisons from the cities: Δημήτριος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐδενὸς ὑφισταμένου τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ φευγόντων καὶ προϊεμένων τὰς πόλεις, προσηγάγετο τὴν τε καλουμένην Ἀκτὴν καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν πλὴν Μαντινείας, καὶ Ἄργος καὶ Σικυῶνα καὶ Κόρινθον ἐλύσατο τέλαντα δοὺς ἑκατὸν τοῖς φρουροῦσιν κ.τ.λ. *Plut. Dem.* 25. Troezen is not here mentioned by name, but it is certainly implied (see Droysen, *Hellenismus*, ii. 2, p. 184). After Ipsos we may conclude that Troezen became subject to Macedon again,

and received a garrison: for in 278 B.C. it was 'liberated' afresh by the Spartan King Kleonymos (Polyaen. *Strateg* ii. 29, 1). The removal of the garrison in 303 took place without a struggle, but yet under the hostile pressure of Demetrios and his army in the neighbourhood. The latter is described in the decree by *συνηγώνισατο αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν*: the former by the words *ἐξαγωγήν τῆς φρουρᾶς*—nor *ἐκπολιόρκησιν* nor *ἐξέλασιν*. There was good reason why Halikarnassos should take a lively interest in the liberation of Troezen. The ambition of Asandros, satrap of Karia, had obliged Antigonos to subdue him by force in 313 B.C. and thus in the name of liberty and autonomy for the Greek cities, Karia passed under the immediate sway of Antigonos (Diod. Sic. xix. 75; Droysen, *Hellenismus*, ii. 2, pp. 29, 30). And thus Halikarnassos, recently liberated by Antigonos, congratulates Troezen in this decree upon her liberation by Demetrios. It is noticeable that Zenodotos is the name of an historian of Troezen (Dionys. Hal. ii. 49): and the father's name, *Βαυκιδεύς*, which is a *ᾄπαξ λεγόμενον*, suggests a connexion with Troezen. For *Βαῦκis* was an Olympic victor from Troezen (Pausan. vi. 8, 4); and there was an island off Troezen called *Βαυκιδιάς* (Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 19). It may be that Zenodotos, a native of Halikarnassos, was connected by family ties with Troezen: at the time that Demetrios is 'liberating' the Peloponnesian cities, he happens to be in Greece proper, and is glad to take part in the armed demonstration which led to the withdrawal of the garrison from Troezen. The Troezenians send a message by him to Halikarnassos (line 4) testifying of the services he had rendered; in reply to which the Halikarnassians passed the decree before us. Its object was twofold: first, they probably congratulated Troezen, praising its loyalty to the kings, and expressed their thanks for the kind feeling conveyed in the letter: this decree they send to Troezen with a request that it may be inscribed and set up there (lines 1–2). Secondly, they voted honours to Zenodotos himself (lines 13 foll.). The form *Τροζήνιοι*, although unusual, has no less authority than the famous tripod-stand from Delphi, on which we read *Τροζάνιοι*.

E. L. HICKS.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM DODONA.—II.

IN the first number of this Journal I passed in review a rare survival of antiquity, the Oracle-inscriptions of Dodona. These, as was there stated, formed a part only of the collection of C. Carapanos. For the remainder, though many of the inscriptions are of great interest, dialectically, archaeologically, and historically, I cannot claim the attraction of novelty which so conspicuously characterised the Oracle-inscriptions as relics *sui generis*. I have thought, however, that it may be not unacceptable to English students to have before them in an accessible form the full tale of the Dodonaean texts, so far as they are legible and not absolutely fragmentary. As, then, in the former number I gave the Oracle-inscriptions *seriatim* with more or less of commentary, so I propose in the following pages to attempt an examination and explanation of the documents which complete the catalogue. It will be hardly necessary to say that, as before, my indebtedness to previous critics—Bursian (*Sitzungsber. d. kön. Bayer. Ges. d. Wiss. Ph.-Hist. Cl.* 1878), Blass, Fränkel, Christ, Carapanos himself—is considerable.

According to the enumeration given on p. 229 of the first number of the Journal, the inscriptions remaining to be noticed are (1) *Ex voto* inscriptions on bronze. (2) Inscriptions on bronze or copper: these comprise (a) decrees of citizenship; (b) deeds of manumission; (c) deeds of *proxenia*; (d) a deed concerning right of intermarriage; (e) donation of property; (f) purchase of a slave. (3) An inscription on an iron strigil. (4) Two or three inscriptions on terra cotta. (5) A *proxenia*-decree, the most complete in the collection, on a limestone tablet.

I will take these classes, as far as possible, in order.

With the exception of one addressed to Aphrodite, the *ex voto* inscriptions, 24 in number, are dedications to Zeus Naïos

and Dione, one or both. Only one of these is of any length (Carapanos). It is a dedication to the Dodonaean Zeus, and is engraved on a very thin plate of bronze 21 centimetres in height. The last three lines are interrupted in the middle by a phallic figure. Christ (*Rhein. Mus.* 1878, pp. 610–613) was the first to see that the inscription is partially if not altogether metrical; not, however, in the ordinary verse of inscriptions, but with a lyric rhythm. He gives the text as follows (the upright strokes here and throughout this article mark the lines of the original)—

θεὸς· τύχα.
 Ζεῦ Δωδώνης μεδέων,
 τόδε σοὶ δῶρον πέμπω παρ' ἐμοῦ,
 Ἀγάθων | Ἐχεφύλου καὶ γενεά | ,
 πρόξενοι Μολοσσῶν |
 καὶ συμμάχων,
 ἐν τριάκοντα γενεαῖς |
 ἐκ Τρώϊας Κασσάνδρας γενεά |
 Ζακύνθιοι.

In the first three lines at any rate we readily recognise Anapaestic Dimeters, and in the next a Trochaic Ithyphallicus. The metres of the remaining lines are respectively Iambic, Trochaic (?), Anapaestic, Iambic. The whole is thus rendered by Christ—

'God; Fortune. Zeus, sovereign (or protector) of Dodona, I send thee this present from myself, I, Agathon, son of Echephylos, and my family, proxeni of the Molossians and their allies; we being a family derived from Trojan Cassandra during thirty generations, Zacynthians.'

The invocation to Ζεὺς as Δωδώνης μεδέων reminds us of the *Iliad* (xvi. 234). This poetical opening, the use of the first person in πέμπω παρ' ἐμοῦ, the position of σοὶ and the order of the words generally, all mark deviations from the normal type of dedicatory inscriptions. Egger (in the Appendix to Carapanos's work) placing no comma after συμμάχων renders: 'Proxeni of the Molossians and their allies for thirty generations from Cassandra the Trojan, we, Zacynthians by birth.' But this translation would certainly require γενεᾶ or γενεάν, not γενεά. He suggests further that there may have existed among the Molossi lists of πρόξενοι, ascending in a manner more or less fictitious, to the times of the Trojan war. We have some-

thing of the same kind in the lists of *εὐεργέται* of the Greek cities. They were sometimes known by the abbreviation *εὐεργεσίαι*, and a collection of these appears to have been made by Plutarch (in the three lost books entitled *Πόλεων εὐεργεσίαι*; see Egger in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1865, pp. 75-6). The punctuation given above leads to a different explanation. If we adopt the Herodotean definition of *γεγεῶ* (Herodot. ii. 142: *γεγεῶν γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἔτεά ἐστιν*) we have Agathon apparently declaring himself to be living 1,000 years after Cassandra. Egger, however, reckoning the *γεγεῶ* at 30 years, and the 30 *γεγεῶν* consequently to be 900 years, and assuming as the 'classic' date for the taking of Troy the year 1270 B.C., arrives at 370 B.C. as the date of this inscription. But the dates assigned for the taking of Troy vary between very wide limits; and the date of this inscription (if we calculate 30 generations to be 1,000 years) might be anywhere between 334 and 184 B.C. Bursian thinks Egger's date too early by 100 years. That Pausanias represents both of the children, which Cassandra bore to Agamemnon, to have been killed by Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus, and to have been buried at Mycenae, is of little moment. The present inscription only shows that there was another tradition of which genealogists and priests would not have been slow to avail themselves. It is remarkable that there was in Zacynthus a special worship of Apollo; thus the fiction of a priestly family deriving its origin from Cassandra was peculiarly appropriate there. In any case the inscription furnishes one more instance of the employment of genealogies as one of the instruments of Greek chronology.¹ But I am not sure that a solution communicated to me by Mr. William Ridgeway is not better and simpler than those of Christ or Egger. He would

¹ We may perhaps compare the practice observed by members of sacerdotal families in tracing their origin as well as the titles of their priesthood to the god whose priests they were. Thus we read in *C.I.G.* 1353: *Ἡ πόλις Μ. Ἀθή-
λιον Ἀριστοκράτη Δαμαινέτου κατὰ γένος
Ιερέα ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους μή, ἀπὸ Διοσκουήρων
μὲν κ.τ.λ.* (cf. 1340, 1349, 1355, 1373,
1374, and Le Bas, *Voyage Arch.*, ii. n.

245). Still more precise is the copied inscription of Halicarnassus, *C.I.G.* 2655, where are mentioned by name, with the duration of their office for a period of 504 years, successive priests of Poseidon, from the date of the monument itself back to Telamon, a supposed son of the god, the seventh in descent, Anthas, being possibly a historical personage.

place a stop after *γενεαῖς* and translates: 'The family are Zacynthians from the Trojan Cassandra'; or, 'The family is from the Trojan Cassandra; they are Zacynthians.' It is not natural to say 'derived from C. during (*ἐν*) thirty generations.' The character of the alphabet used points to a date anterior to the destruction of the ancient temple of Zeus by the Aetolians in B.C. 219 (Polyb. vi. 4, 67).

The exterior neck of a small vase carries the following dedication—

Φιλοκλε[ι]δα[ς] ὁ Δαμοφίλου Λευκαδῖος Διὶ Ναίῳ,

for so Bursian reads it. The *ε* for *ει* in Φιλοκλείδας, the *ο* for *ω* in Ναίῳ and the form of the letters generally, indicate a respectable antiquity, perhaps the fifth or sixth century B.C.; though the character is certainly not as old as that of the inscription described by Kirchhoff (*Stud.* 93) as the only archaic one found in Leucas.

A tripod bears on its exterior rim the dedicatory formula Τερψικλῆς τῷ Διὶ Ναίῳ ῥαψωδὸς ἀνέθηκε (Pl. xxiii. 2 and 2 bis). The character belongs to the fifth century B.C.; the use of *η* and *ω* probably show that Terpsicles was an Ionian. We may infer from this inscription that the musical contests, the existence of which at Dodona is proved by the presence of a theatre, included also contests of rhapsodists. The votive offering in this case was doubtless made by Terpsicles as the result of a victory in the festival of the Ναῖα.—Another tripod (Pl. xxiii. 3, 4) inscribed on two of its feet is an offering to Zeus from the Lechoians (?). On one foot are the words Διὶ δῶρον ἀνέθηκε πόλις; on the other, which Carapanos perceived from its form and dimensions to belong to the same tripod, the word Λεχωίων.—A patera (Pl. xxiii. 5) has on the exterior of the rims the dedication Σωταῖρος ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Ναίῳ.—The inscription on the inner rim of a goblet (Pl. xxiii. 6) states that Dorobios presented to Zeus Ναῖος certain offerings vowed by Diopieithes: Δωρόβιος Διὶ Νάοι ἀνέθηκε ἅ Διοπέθης (i.e. Διοπέθης) εὔξατο. Carapanos, on no very strong grounds, thinks it possible that this Diopieithes may have been the celebrated χρησμολόγος at Sparta, of whom mention is made by Plutarch (*Vit. Ages.* iii., *Vit. Lysandr.* xxii). The supposition accords very well with the date to be inferred from the style of the

letters, the fourth century B.C. The occasional use of ϵ for $\epsilon\iota$ in inscriptions survived, as is well known, for some time, the introduction of the Ionic alphabet.—On a fragment of a small casket (Pl. xxiv. 3) we find the words $\Delta\iota\ \text{Ναῖω}$ (*sic*) $\Phi\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \text{Ἀθηναῖος}$. The name $\Phi\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ as Athenian is sufficiently familiar to us from inscriptions, *e.g.* *C. I. G.* 165, a catalogue of persons killed in war in different places in the year B.C. 457. A Philinos was co-trierarch with Demosthenes (Mid. 161), and an orator of the same name is cited by Athenaeus (x. 425, *b*).—Sometimes two donors united in making an offering. A small goblet (Pl. xxiv. 4) has on its interior surface the double dedication $\text{Ἀνταγαθίδας}\ \Delta\iota\ \text{Ναῖω}$ and $\text{Ἀντοκρατίδας}\ \Delta\iota\ \text{Νάω}$. The difference in the orthography on the same offering is remarkable.—A small vase (Pl. xxiv. 5 and 5 *bis*) is dedicated by Bemaïos, son of Phylleus: $\text{Βημαῖος}\ \Phi\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma\ \Delta\iota\ \text{Ναῖω}\ \delta\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu$.—A rim of bronze (Pl. xxiv. 6 and 6 *bis*) which might have served as the diadem of a statue, or ornament of a vase, bears the inscription: $\text{Παλεῖς}\ \Delta\iota\ \text{Νάω}$. The town Πάλη of Cephallenia is probably meant (Paus. vi. 15, 7, Strab. x. 2, 15).—We have next a circular mirror (Pl. xxv. 1) inscribed over its whole surface with characters indicating the fifth century B.C. The words run: $\text{Πολυξένα}\ |\ \tauαγεῖν\ \text{ἀντίθη}|\ \tau\iota\ \tau\omicron\iota\ \Delta\iota\ |\ \text{καὶ}\ \text{χρήματα}$. Carapanos's explanation of $\tauαγεῖν$ as $\tauάγε$ with euphonic ν , or as standing for $\tauαγήν = \text{κατὰ}\ \text{διαταγήν}$ may be rejected at once. Bursian's explanation is better, but not altogether satisfactory. He takes $\tauαγέν$ to be a neuter participle of the passive aorist: 'Polyxena dedicates to Zeus [this mirror, κάτοπτρον] as an offering prescribed to her, together with money.'—A large vase (Pl. xxv. 2 and 2 *bis*) in the form of an ascos is dedicated to Zeus Naïos and Dione, the date being marked¹ by the name of Machatas, the ἀγωνοθέτης . The words are: $\text{Ἐπὶ}\ \text{ἀγωνοθέτα}\ \text{Μαχάτα}\ \text{Παρ} \text{θαίου}\ \Delta\iota\ \text{Νάου}\ \text{καὶ}\ \text{Δώνα}$. The error in Νάου and Δώνα , apparently the fault of the engraver, is corrected to Νάοι and Διώνη in another vase (Pl. xxv. 2 *ter*) similar to the preceding, and bearing the same inscription. If this Machatas was son of Charops I., one of the most important personages of Epirus in the second century B.C., we may assign the inscription to that period. Carapanos suggests that Παρθαίου is probably only a different form of Παρθίνου . The Παρθῖνοι or Παρθῆνοι were a

¹ See below the remarks on Pl. xxxii. 3, p. 120.

people in the north of Epirus, and were held to be sometimes Epirote, sometimes Illyrian or Macedonian.—A small candelabrum (Pl. xxv. 3 and 3 *bis*) is dedicated by a Glaucon, whose dialect, to judge from the form Διώνη, was not Doric: Γλαύκων Διὶ Ναῖφ Διώνη.—A small wheel (Pl. xxvi. 1) bears the inscription: Ὀφελίων Ἀφροδίτῃ ἀνέθηκε. The place where this was found Carapanos assumes to have been a shrine dedicated to Ἀφροδίτη. Bursian, however, remarks that the conclusion is too hasty, and derives little support from the statement of Servius (on Virg. *Aen.* iii. 466) that at Dodona was a temple consecrated 'Jovi et Veneri'; for there, as even the use of the singular *templum* shows, the name Venus plainly corresponds to the Greek Διώνη.¹

Lastly, we have to notice an interesting fragment recording a dedication by the Athenians from the spoils of the Peloponnesians after a naval victory. The words are: Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ Πελοποννησίων ναυμαχίας νικέσαντες ἀνέθηκαν or ἀνέθεσαν]. The right-hand portion from the Dodonaean collection was supplemented by another fragment, forming the left-hand portion, from the Museum at Berlin, and has been explained by Fränkel in the *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1878, p. 71. The characters belong to the fifth century B.C., and as may be seen from Πελοποννησίων and νικέσαντες are pre-Ionic. That the inscription was not later than 446 B.C. is shown by the form of alpha (Α) which disappears from public documents after that date. Again, the sigma with four strokes (Σ) appears first on the famous list of the fallen in *C. I. A. I.* 433, which refers to the year 460 B.C. Fränkel is of opinion that the inscription is actually a second document commemorating the Athenian deeds of prowess in the year 460 B.C. (Comp. Thuc. i. 105).—An inscription, possibly dedicatory, on an iron strigil (Pl. xxvi. 8 and 8 *bis*) is given by Carapanos as follows:

Ζηνικέτῃ βασιλεῖ χρήσαι μ . . . α Διὸς Ν[άον καὶ Διῶ]νας
χρήμα καὶ ἐργασίας ἅπασ[ιν] . . .
αὐτὸς ἐπιστάμενα τελέσας χ . . .
. . . εχως . . . δ . . . ευν . . . σω ξένεσι . . .

Little can be made out of this as it stands; the first three lines seem to have a metrical rhythm. Carapanos may be right

¹ See Vol. I. of this Journal, p. 231.

in explaining the first word to mean 'suppliant of Zeus.' The characters are ancient, perhaps of the fourth century B.C.—There remains a short but highly interesting inscription not found in Carapanos's work, but published by him in the *Arch. Zeitung*, 1878, pp. 115–16. It fell into his hands curiously enough at Berlin, whither probably it had found its way, together with other fragments, owing to the faithlessness of some workman. The inscription is on bronze *au pointillé*, and runs thus as restored—

[Βασιλεὺς Πύρρο[ς καὶ]
[Ἀπειρώ]ται καὶ τ[αὐτα] (or perhaps Τ[αραντῖνοι])
ἀπὸ Ρωμαίων καὶ [ἀπὸ]
συμμάχων Διὶ Να[ῖφ].

Here, therefore, we have a record of some of the spoil presented to the Dodonaean Zeus by Pyrrhus and his allies after their victories over the Romans in the beginning of the third century B.C. Carapanos cites a metrical inscription from Pausanias (i. 13, 2) which Pyrrhus is said similarly to have engraved on spoils offered to Zeus after victories over the Macedonians.—This completes the list of dedicatory inscriptions.¹

Next on our list come the forty-five inscriptions and fragments comprised in Carapanos's '*cinquième catégorie*' and figured by him in facsimile plates. Of this number, twenty or more will occupy our attention; the rest of the forty-five and, as Carapanos tells us, several fragments besides, which he has failed to connect with one another, baffle interpretation. These inscriptions are on plates of copper or bronze of hardly half a millimetre in thickness. Most of them are engraved *au pointillé*, some *au repoussé*. On almost all, as being public documents, is impressed an official stamp by the addition of the names of certain state dignitaries, who confer authority upon the proceeding recorded or mark its date. And as the varying formulae point to different stages in the political history of

¹ The following, too short or fragmentary to call for notice in the text, may be given here: *εὖπο* on the base of a small vase (Pl. xxiii. 7); *συπο* on a fragment of a large goblet (Pl. xxiii. 8); . . . *αἰς Διὶ Νάφ δῶρον* on a square plate of bronze (Pl. xxiv. 1); *Διὶ Ναῖφ*

on a colander, perhaps used for sacrificial purposes (Pl. xxiv. 2); *Διόνε ἐπ* on a small goblet (Pl. xxvi. 3); *ἰς Δία* on the handle of a vase (Pl. xxvi. 4 and 4 bis); *ἀλκε* (?=ἀλκή) on a large ring (Pl. xxvi. 7); &c.

Epirus, it will clear the way if we first examine in detail these variations. Passing over the mythical period we find at an early date that the Molossians were ruled by kings or chieftains who ultimately extended their power over all Epirus. We find Admetus in the early part of the fifth century famous for his hospitality to the exile Themistocles: after him, about 429 B.C., comes his son or grandson Tharymbas or Arymbas I. The next king mentioned is Alcetas, a contemporary of Dionysius of Syracuse, about 385 B.C. He is succeeded by his sons Neoptolemus and Arymbas II., and at length in Alexander, nephew of Arymbas, we reach the first who bore the title of king of Epirus. Then follow, as kings of Epirus, the two sons of Arymbas, Aeacidas, killed in 313 B.C. and Alcetas, killed in 295 B.C. The throne next falls to Neoptolemus at first alone and afterwards for a short time jointly with the famous Pyrrhus, son of Aeacidas, whose son Alexander became king in 272 B.C. Lastly, we have the two sons of Alexander, Pyrrhus II. and Ptolemy, with whose death (239–229 B.C.) the dynasty comes to an end. Henceforward Epirus was presided over by a *στρατηγός* or praetor, elected annually in a general assembly of the nation held at Passaron. The mention then of a *βασιλεύς* or a *στρατηγός* in these inscriptions should suffice to prove that the inscriptions in which they respectively occur are earlier or later than 229 B.C. But from an honorary decree,¹ probably dating from the end of the fourth century B.C., in which, with the king Neoptolemus, son of Alexander, are coupled *οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν* and the *προστάτας* of the *Μολοσσοί*, it would seem that, from the end of the fourth century at least, the Epirotes formed a league or *συμμαχία*, at the head of which stood the *Μολοσσοί*. Some of the decrees are granted in the name of the *Ἀπειρώται*, others in the name of the *Μολοσσοί* only; accordingly we find mention of the *ἐκκλησία τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν* and the *ἐκκλησία τῶν Μολοσσῶν*. In the later inscriptions the *στρατηγός τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν* and the *προστάτας τῶν Μολοσσῶν* appear together; on some however only one of these. In some cases we have, in addition to the *βασιλεύς* or *στρατηγός* and the *προστάτας*, the *γραμματεὺς τῶν συνεδρῶν*, apparently the Secretary to the Council of the League.

With these preliminary remarks we may proceed to the

¹ Pl. xxvii. I, *infra*.

consideration of the inscriptions. We will take first the grants of enfranchisement and immunities.

Engraved *au pointillé* on bronze is the following (Pl. xxvii. 1):
Θεὸς Τύχ[α] [Κ]λεομάχῳ Ἀτιντᾶνι οἱ σύμ[μ]αχοι τῶν Ἀπειρωτᾶν
ἔδωκαν ἐν Ἀπειρῷ ἀτέλειαν ἐπὶ βασιλέως Νεοπτολέμου
Ἀλεξάνδρου | ἐπὶ πρόστα¹ Δέρκα Μολοσσῶν, καὶ ἐν-
τέλειαν.

By this document the Epirote League, in the reign of Neoptolemus, son of Alexander, Derkas being *προστάτας* or President of the Molossians, granted to Kleomachos the Atintanian² ἀτέλεια in Epirus and ἐντέλεια. Of these two words, by which the privileges granted are specified, the latter is new to the lexicon and its meaning uncertain. It occurs again together with ἀτέλεια, ἀσφάλεια, ἔγκτασις in the decree in honour of Gaïos Dazoupos Rennios. E. Egger (Carapanos, *Dodona*, &c. App. p. 200) conjectures that it denotes the capacity for holding magisterial offices. Bursian thinks that ἀτέλεια and ἐντέλεια together are possibly equivalent to the Attic term ἰσοτέλεια, 'immunity from the taxes and burdens of aliens and obligation to those of burgesses.'

The mention of Neoptolemos determines within certain limits the date of the inscription. As we have shown above, there were two kings of Epirus bearing that name; one, the father of Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great, reigned towards the middle of the fourth century B.C. But he was son of an Alcetas, and therefore cannot be the Neoptolemos of this inscription, who is son of Alexander. The other Neoptolemos, who is probably the one here mentioned, reigned towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century, at first alone and then with Pyrrhus, by whom he was put to death about 295 B.C. As Neoptolemos is here named alone, the inscription should be anterior to his association with Pyrrhus.

An imperfect inscription *au repoussé* on copper is thus restored (Pl. xxvii. 3): [Βασιλεύον]τος [Ἀλ]εξάνδρου, ἐπ[ὶ] | προσ-
τάτα] Μολο[σσῶν] | Ἀρισ[το]μάχου Ὀμφα[λέος ἐπὶ
γραμ]ματέ[ος δ]ὲ Μενεδάμου | . . . [ἔδ]οξε τ[α]ῖ ἐκκλησίαι (sic)

¹ Obviously an error for *προστάτας*.

² The fact that the Atintanians were an outlying tribe of Epirotes and perhaps hardly regarded as part of Epirus

may explain why Kleomachos should have had conferred on him honours naturally accorded to aliens.

τῶν | [Μολοσσῶν] Κτήσων εὐεργέτας ἐ[ὼν διατελεῖ] πολειτεῖαν
(sic) Κτήσω | [νι δοῦναι καὶ] γενεᾷ.

In this 'Ομφαλέος is due to Bursian for the 'Ομφάλου of Carapanos. 'Ομφαλέος Bursian takes to be an ethnikon, and this conjecture better accords with the supposition that the actual name of the προστάτας is lost before Ἀριστομάχου, which would then be the name of the father. In Pl. xxxi. 2 (a deed of manumission) occurs ΟΜΦΑΛΕΣ ('Ομφαλεῖς); and an Epirotic town 'Ομφάλιον is quoted by Ptolemy (iii. 14, § 7), though it is true he assigns it to the Chaones. Bursian¹ also substitutes Μολοσσῶν for Ἀπειρωτῶν of Carapanos. In what follows the syntax halts and the Ionic ἐὼν can hardly be right. May we read [ἐπεὶ] Κτήσων εὐεργέτας ἐ[τι ὦν διατελεῖ] κ.τ.λ. ? As regards the date of this inscription (xxvii. 3) and that quoted in the note below (xxxii. 5), Carapanos, on the ground that the character of the writing is less ancient than that of the decree concerning Kleomachos the Atintanian (xxvii. 1), in which Neoptolemos, son of Alexander, appears as king, decides that the Alexander of the two inscriptions under consideration must be Alexander II., son of Pyrrhus, who reigned in the first half of the third century B.C., and not Alexander, son of Neoptolemos, brother of Olympias, who was killed in Italy about 326 B.C. But, as Bursian remarks, this inference of relative age is unsafe owing to the difference in the kind of engraving (xxvii. 1 and xxxii. 5 being *au pointillé* on bronze: xxvii. 1 *au repoussé* on copper), a difference quite consistent with identity of age.

Another link in the historical chain is supplied by an inscription *au repoussé* on bronze (Pl. xxix. 2); there are several gaps, but the restorations are almost certain: [Θεὸς Τύχα | Στρα]τα-
γο[ύντος Ἀπει]ρω[τῶν Ἀ]ντινόου Κλαθιά[του Λα | οπιο
. . . . [Ρ Παρμε]νίσκος | Δεξάνδρ[ου ποθοδ]ωμα | γραψα[μέ-
νου πο]τὶ τὰν ἐκ[κλη]σίαν [Δαμάρχ]ου τοῦ Δα[μέ]α]

¹ His reading seems to be supported by a comparison of another deed of enfranchisement (Pl. xxxii. 5) which runs, as restored: 'Επὶ βασιλείῃς Αλεξ-
[άνδρου, ἐπὶ προ]στάτα Μολοσσῶν Βαχ | [γραμματε]ύοντος δὲ
συ[νέδρου] | [τὸ κοινὸν τῶν]
Μολοσσῶν | [διδωτι] πολειτεῖαν
(sic) . . . Here again we have a king

Alexander whose name is associated with that of a Προστάτας of the Molossians and a γραμματεῖς of the σύνεδροι, which, in the genitive case, may well be the missing word after Μενεδάμου in Pl. xxvii. 3; or better, perhaps, we may restore thus: γραμμα-
τεύοντος Μενεδάμου συνέδρου.

Ἀχαι[οῦ καὶ αἰ]τουμένου πολίτε[ίαν ἔδοξε τοῖς | Ἀπειρώταις
[πολίτα]ν εἶμεν | [Δ]ήμαρχον [Ἀχαιδ]ν κα[ῖ] ὁμοιον τοῖς
ἄλλοις Ἀπ[ειρώταις].

The words Κλαθιάτου and ποθόδωμα and the symbol H (προστάτας) are restored by Bursian from the decree in honour of Rennios which will occupy our attention shortly. Παρμενίσκος though probable is not so certain; the diminutive termination -ίσκος is of frequent occurrence in these inscriptions. Κλαθιάτου Bursian regards as a topographical adjective (Κλαθιάτης) of a possible locality Κλαθία. The phrase ποθόδωμα γράψασθαι (for πόθοδον, πρόσδοδον) is obviously an Epirotic variant of the well-known classic and inscriptional phrase πρόσδοδον (πόθοδον) ποιεῖσθαι. We shall consider the question of date below. One other fragment (Pl. xxxii. 6) engraved *au pointillé* and *au repoussé* seems, to judge from the word πολίτε[ίαν], to have been a deed of enfranchisement.¹

We now come to the inscriptions recording grants of προξενία and other privileges.—According to an inscription on copper *au repoussé* and *au pointillé* (Pl. xxxiii. 1) Theodorus, son of Stomios, is appointed by the Molossians proxenos, and to him and his heirs are guaranteed immunity from burdens of some kind or other and personal protection within the limits of Epirus both in war and peace. The text runs: [Θ]εὸς Τύ[χα | Θε]όδωρον Στομίον Ἄν | θιη Μολοσσοὶ πρόξεν[ον] ἐποίησαν αὐτὸν καὶ [ἀ]τέλειαν καὶ ἀσφίλειαν ἐν [Ἀπειρ]ῳ αὐτ[ῷ] καὶ ἐκ[γόν]οις ἔδωκαν ἔ]μ πολέμῳ καὶ | ἐν εἰρήνῃ].

But perhaps the most remarkable of the proxenia-decrees is the following, engraved, *au pointillé* on bronze (Pl. xxviii. 2). [Θεὸς] Τύχα ἀγαθὰ | [Ἐπὶ π]ροστάτα Λευ[χάρου, ἀφικο]μένου | Ἰπποσθέneos, Τειχέρμωνος, Σελινίοις, ἔδοξε τοῖς | Μολοσσοῖς προξενίαν δόμεν | τοῖς Ἀκραγαντίνους. By the terms of this document the Molossians, in the year when Leuchares was προστάτας, granted to the Agrigentines *en masse* the title of Proxeni, on the arrival (in Epirus) of three persons, Hipposthenes, Teichermon, Selinis, presumably themselves Agrigentines. As was observed in the first number of this journal, this proceeding is unique in the history of the proxenia. It was there suggested (p. 237) that perhaps what is meant is

[Ἐπὶ προστάτα Μολοσσῶν Σ . . . | ἐν Δω[ρί]ῳ] . . . | . . . as ἔδωκε . . . ν
. . . γενεῖ Θρασ . . . | . . . ντ πολίτε[ίαν] . . . | τον ἔπ[α]ντα . . .

merely something like the honorary title of *fratres* accorded by the Romans to the Aedui (Caes. *B. G.* i. 43; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 25; Cic. *Att.* i. 19). As might be expected in a document concerning a Rhodian colony, we read here the infinitive form, represented by *δόμειν*, so characteristic of Rhodian inscriptions.—Lastly among the proxenia-decrees we must notice one already alluded to of considerable interest, forming the most complete of the inscriptions in Carapanos's collection. It is found on p. 114, and is the only one which is not represented in facsimile.

Ἀγαθὰ Τύχα. | Στραταγοῦντος Ἀπειρωτᾶν Ἀντινόου
Κλαθιάτου, γραμματεύοντος δὲ συνέδρους Δοκίμου | τοῦ
Κεφαλίνου Τορυδαίου, γαμιλίου ἐν Βουνίμαις ἔκτι | καὶ εἰκάδι.
Πρ. Λύων Εὐρώπιος. Ποθόδωμα γραφασμένου Λυσαφία τοῦ
Νικολάου Καριώπου περὶ προξενίας Γαίῳ Δαζούποι | Ῥεννίῳ
Βρεντεσινοῖ καὶ ἀπολογιζομένου τὰν εὐνοίαν ἂν | ἔχων διατελεῖ
ποτὶ τοὺς Ἀπειρώτας, δι' ἃς οἶετο δεῖν τιμαθῆμεν αὐτονί,
ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀπειρώταις πρόξενον εἶμεν αὐτὸν | Γαῖον Δάζουπον
Ῥέννιον Βρεντεσινὸν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους, ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτῷ
καὶ ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἐντέλειαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ
εἰράνας, τὰ ἀπὸ Ἀπειρωτᾶν, καὶ γᾶς | καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκταςιν ἐν
Ἀπείροι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια πάντα | ὅσα καὶ [τοῖς ἄ]λλοις
προξένοις.

The limestone tablet on which this is engraved is O^m70 in height by O^m70 in breadth: the surface occupied by the inscription measures O^m40 by O^m68.

We may translate thus:—

“Antinoos of Klathia (?) being Strategos of the Epirotes, and Dokimos, son of Kephalinus, of Toryde (?), being Secretary to the Synedri, on the 26th of the month Gamelios according to the local calendar at Bunimae (?).

“Prostates, Lyon of Europus.

“Whereas Lysanias, son of Nicolaos, of Caropus, made application concerning *proxenia* on behalf of Gaïos Dazoupos Rennios of Brundisium; and whereas he set forth the good will which the aforesaid Gaïos continues to bear towards the Epirotes, through which he was of opinion that Gaïos ought to have honour conferred on him: it was resolved by the Epirotes that the said Gaïos Dazoupos Rennios of Brundisium should be *proxenos*—himself and his heirs—and should enjoy immunity

from burdens and the right of holding office (?) and security both in war and in peace, as far as depends upon the Epirotes, and the right of holding land and house property in Epiros and all the other privileges as many as are accorded to the other *proxeni*."

Several points here call for notice. First of all the mention of Antinoos as Strategos limits the date to the first third of the second century B.C. We learn from Polybius (xxvii. 13, 7; comp. xxx. 7, 2; and Livy xlv. 26) that he was a cotemporary of Perses, king of Macedon. Under these circumstances the round form of the letters Ε and C for ε and σ is certainly surprising, and the more so if this Antinoos is the same as the Antinoos of the Damarchos-decree (Pl. xxix. 2), noticed above, which should therefore belong to about the same date. We have already suggested an explanation of Κλαθιάτου and ποθόδωμα γραψαμένων, which were restored in the Damarchos-decree. With regard to Τορυδαίου Bursian conjectures that it may be an ethnikon of Τορύδη (?), a collateral form of a well-known Epirotic name Τορύνη (Bursian's *Geogr. von Griechenland* i. p. 28). The words γαμιλλίου ἐμβουνίμαις ἔκτι καὶ εἰκάδι obviously denote the day of the month. In γαμιλλίου for γαμηλίου we have only another form of the Attic Γαμηλιών, though it does not of course follow that the Attic and the Epirotic month coincided. At any rate, we learn at least one month of the hitherto unknown Epirotic calendar. Unless γαμιλλίου and ἔκτι are merely engraver's mistakes for γαμηλίου and ἔκτη, it is possible that the ι for η and η may point to a period in which the pronunciation of ι and η was becoming assimilated. Bursian at first considered ἐμβουνίμαις to be a dialectical equivalent of ἐμβολίμοις (sc. ἡμέραις), but afterwards, on the suggestion of Dr. Ludw. Weniger, thought the reference might be to the calendar of an Epirotic town Bunimae (or Buneima): cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Βούνειμα and Τραμπύα. The name Δίων Εὐρώπιος is preceded by the symbol Π, which Carapanos is probably right in explaining to denote προστάτας, though elsewhere it is the abbreviation for πρέσβυς or πρεσβύτερος. The dative in -οι (Δαζούποι, Βρεντεσινοί, Ἀπείροι) from O- stems beside the normal -φ is remarkable. We have met datives like Νατοί, τοί, in other of the Dodonaean inscriptions. Similarly in two inscriptions of the Elean dialect differing considerably in antiquity we have examples of this form, as αὐτοῖ (= αὐτῶ) in

the Damocrates-decree discovered at Olympia (Cauer 116), and perhaps δάμοι (= δάμω) in the older Elean and Chaladrian Treaty found at the same place (*Arch. Zeit.* 1877, p. 196). The adjective *Βρεντεσινός* is found also in *C. I. G.* 5784 (cf. 5783). *ἀπολογίζομαι* is used in precisely the same sense as here in a Spartan inscription (W. Vischer, *Epigr. u. archäol. Beitr. aus Griechenland*, 1855 p. 13; Cauer, *Delectus* No. 5) where also in the words *πόθοδον ποιησαμένου* we recognise a variant of our *ποθόδωμα γραφαμένου*. For the genitive in *δε' ἄς* we should certainly have expected *δε' ἄν*. Among other marks of peculiarity may be noticed the absence of augment in *οἴετο*, the demonstrative *αὐτονί* and the infinitive forms.

The deeds of manumission, to which we next turn, generally begin with the form of invocation, 'God : Fortune'; then after the name of the *προστάτας Μολοσσών* or the *στραταγός Ἀπειρωτῶν* (which however are sometimes added at the end) come the names of the manumitted slaves, and the manumitting master or mistress with the formula *ἀφίημι* (*ἀφῆκε*, *ἀφίεντι*) *ἐλεύθερον* (*ἐλευθέραν*, *ἐλευθ'ρους*), the freedom conferred being sometimes expressly continued to descendants. Then follows a list of the witnesses, and since local names are generally coupled with them we can add to our knowledge of Epirotic towns and districts. The texts shall now follow in order with such remarks as may be necessary. Except where otherwise pointed out they are all on bronze and *au pointillé*.

Pl. xxx. 1. [Θ]εὸς [Τύ]χα ἀγαθὰ Βο . . . | Φορμίονος Ἐχενίκα Ἄμ . . . | Φλεύχω ἐλευθέραν ἀφίεν[τι αὐ]τοῖ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκγό[νων αὐ]τῶν καὶ γένος ἐκ γενεᾶς . . . [Φορμί]σκος καὶ Δαμναγόρα τελ . . . | ωντι καὶ Φορμίσκος ἡ Βα . . . | πεισθαι ὅπα καὶ θέλη . . . Εσλαγόρας Βατέλω . . . | λος Ὀπλαῖνος Πολυπ [Οπ]λαῖνος Σιμίλας Κελα . . .

It seems useless to attempt restorations of the missing portions of this inscription; all we can gather is that a certain man (? *Βοίσκος*, Cf. Pl. xxx. 4), son of Phormion and Echenika, probably his wife, manumitted from servitude to themselves or their heirs Phleucho, herself and her kindred sprung from the heirs of her body, *i.e.* the race descending from her own children.¹ At the end after an unintelligible portion follows a list of

¹ This explanation of the words *γένος ἐκ γενεᾶς* is suggested to me by Mr. Ridgeway, who compares the gradation *αὐτή, γενεά, ἑγγονοί*, in Pl. xxxi.

witnesses. Φορμίονος for Φορμίωνος may be due to the same inadvertence which produced Δωδωναῖος on another inscription. The reading Ἑσλαγόρας (i.e. Ἑσθλαγόρας; cf. ἔσλος for ἔσθλος in the Inscr. from Olympia, *Arch. Z.* 1876, Tab. 6, n. 2, l. 3) is due to Bursian, who also suggests that the following BATEΛΩΙ should be read Βατεαῖος, from the Cassiopian town Βατῆαι (Strab. vii. p. 324). Ὀπλαῖνος, too, seems to be the adjective of a place-name.

Pl. xxx. 2. Ἐπὶ προστάτα (sic) Μολοσσῶν Κεφάλων Πείαλος ἀφῆκε Ἡρα[κ]λεῖδας Σώπατρο[ν] | Τοίμαχον ἐλευθέ[ρ]ους καὶ αὐτοὺς κ[αὶ] ἐκ[κ]γόνους. Μάρτ[υ]ρες Πελέων Χερα . . . | . . . Ἀγέλαος Μεν . . . μνος Δαμοῖτας Χ . . . | . . . δρος Θεόδωτος Χ . . . | . . . δρος Πολύξενος | . . . ασσος.

In the year when Cephalos was προστάτας, Píalos, son of Herakles, freed Sopatros and Toimachos, themselves and their descendants. Among the witnesses Θεόδωτος is of course for Θεόδωτος. If the Cephalos here is the same man as the general of that name who fell fighting against the Romans for the independence of Epirus (about 170 B.C.), the inscription may be assigned to the first third of the second century B.C.

Pl. xxx. 4. Ἀγαθᾶ Τύχα | Στραταγοῦντος Ἀπειρωτᾶν Ἀνδρονίκου Ὑγχεστου ἀφῆκε | ἐλευθέραν Φιλίσταν Νεῖ|κανδρος Ἀνεροῖτα Ταλαιᾶν ἄτεκνος. Μάρτυρες Δό|κιμος Βοῖσκου, Ευρύνους Δέρκα, Ἀντίλοχος Μενεφύλευ (sic), Ἀνδροκος Νικομάχου, Ταλαιᾶνες, Βοῖσκος Νεικάνδρου Ὀποῦλος.

According to this document a woman named Philista is freed by Nicandros, son of Aneroitias, a Talaianian, he being without issue. There appears to be no mention in history of an Andronicus, son of Hynchestus; and the same remark applies to the name Lysanias in the next inscription. The places indicated by the adjectival forms Ταλαιᾶν, Ὀποῦος (or Ὀποῦος) are new to geography: Carapanos is inclined to connect the former with the Τάλαρες of Strabo (ix. p. 434); the latter resembles that of the Locrian Opus. As we have the normal genitive in -ου, Μενεφύλευ is probably the engraver's error. Ἀνδροκος seems to be a variation of the name Ἀνδρόκκας in Pl. xxvii. 2.

Pl. xxx. 5. Ἀγαθᾶ Τύχα. Στραταγοῦντος Ἀπειρωτᾶν Λυσανία Καρώπου | Προστατεύοντος Μολοσσῶν Ἐχελάου | Παρώρου, ἀφῆκε Ἀντίβολος Νικάνωρος Δοῖεσστος ἐλεύθερον | Ἀνδρομένη τὸν αὐτοῦ | [ᾧ]τεκνος ὦν Μάρτυρες Ἀγέλαος

'Ατίοχου (sic), Λυκόφρων | ('Ατ)ιοχον, Δέξανδρος Κεφάλου, 'Αγελαῖος | ικατου, Κολπαῖοι.

Antibolos son of Nicanor, being childless, manumits Andromenes his slave. Antibolos is described as Δοέσστος and the witnesses as Κολπαῖοι. Of the corresponding towns we know nothing. With the former Bursian compares the Macedonian Διέσται and Ορέσται; the latter may come from a Κόλπαι or Κόλπη, a form like the Amphilocheian 'Ολπαι or 'Ολπη. 'Ατιόχου is more probably a mistake than a variant of 'Αντιόχου.

Pl. xxxi. 1 (like the following Pl. xxxi. 2) presents a mixture of letters inscribed and *au pointillé*.¹ It is too fragmentary for translation, but deserves notice for the proper name 'Αμύμων and for the form *Feïdus* which may be an (imperfect) proper name.

Pl. xxxi. 2² is also much mutilated. The formula of manumission is here slightly varied. Certain persons give freedom to [τ]ὰ ἴδια σώματα γυναι[κῶν] (not γυναι[κός] as Carapanos reads it) αἷς ὀνόματα Φιλωμ. . . . Perhaps Φιλωμένα; in the form Φιλουμένη it is not uncommon in inscriptions: comp. also the Philumena of Terence. The place-name 'Ομφαλεῖς (ΟΜΦΑΛΕΣ) which occurs twice in this fragment has been mentioned before; it is in both cases joined with Μολοσσοί and Χιμῶλιοι. The negligence of the engraver appears in Μολοσσοί and Χιμόλιοι.

In Pl. xxxi. of Carapanos are given two fragments of copper numbered 2 and 3, which Rangabé (*Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 117) cleverly saw to belong to the same inscription. No. 4 forms the left side of the original document, and the first line of No. 4 is continued on to the second line of No. 3. The text as restored by Rangabé (*Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 118) is as follows—

Θεῶ. Αγαθῇ | [Τύ]χη. Βασιλεύον[τος. . .
 αν . . . | . . . κου δὲ Αμυνάνδρο[υ . .]λα . . .
 . . . ἀπέδωκεν Δ . . . | . . . λης Κανθάραν ἐλ[ευθ]έραν εἰ-
 ναι αὐτάν] τε [καὶ] γενεὰ[ν] | [τὸν ἅπα]ντα χρόνον' μὴ ἐξέσση[ω

¹ ξαι | προστατεύοντος
 Σαβυρ | . . . [Μολο]σσῶν 'Ονο-
 πέρων | . . . του 'Αμύμων
 Δεξ[άνδρου] . . . | . . . φήτι Feïdus . . .
 [ἐ]λεύθερον τὸν αὐτοῦ . . . [Μάρτ]υρες
 Ξ . . . | Γέλων | . . . ος Εὐρώπι[ος]
 . . . | αἰος | . . . χο . . .

² ια οικα . . . | . . . πῖρω . . . |
 . . . οντ . . . | . . . [ἐγα]θᾶ Τύχη |

. . . αχ . . . [Κλ]εοπάτρα Π . . | . .
 [Μολ]οσσοί 'Ομφαλες Χιμῶ[λ]ιοι . . .
 [τ]ὰ ἴδια σώματα γυναι[κῶν] . . . ἀρα
 αἷς ὀνόματα Φιλωμ | . . . ἀνα ἐλεύθερα.
 Μάρτ | [υρες] . . . [Π]αυσανία, 'Εκτωρ
 'Ανδρ | [Ε]κτορος, 'Αλκιβιάδης
 s Νίκαν Αρφίδισ(?) . . . | . . .
 [Μ]εγελάου Μολοσσοί (sic) | . . . [Ομφα-
 λ]ες Χιμῶλιοι.

δωναῖος, Κραῖνυς Φοινᾶτος, Ἀμύνανδρος Δω-
δωναῖος· Θρεσπωτῶν οἶδε· Δόκιμος Λαρισσαῖος,
Πεῖανδρος Ἐλεαῖος, Μένανδρος Τιαῖος, Ἀλέξα-
νδρος Τιαῖος, Δείνων Θοξουχάρου, Φίλιππο[ς]
Φίλων Ὀνόπερνος. Ἐπὶ προστάτα Φιλοξ-
ένου Ὀνοπέρν[ου Διὸς] νόου¹ Διώνας.

The characters point to the fourth century B.C. A certain Trypon is manumitted by the verdict of four (or if Σα[μ]υθα is a genitive, three) judges or arbitrators, Theodotus, Aleximachos, Gamithos. The text after these words presents some difficulties, but Rangabé's punctuation goes far to remove them, if Ξένυς is taken (not as Egger takes it, for a nominative plural), but for a dative plural. The case is decided by a ξενική κρίσις, that is, according to the forms appropriated to suits between aliens, which also received the name δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων.² Bursian, indeed, remarks with regard to the restoration ξενικῇ κρίσει that in xxxii. iv.³ the letters ξενικαῖλυσι are to be divided ξενικῇ λύσει (not ξένι καὶ Λυσιμ[άχῳ] as Carapanos reads), and in xxxii. 1⁴ λυσει is to be expanded to [ξενικα]ῖ λύσει. And in fact in the present inscription ξενική λύσις might very well mean a λύσις or manumission resulting from a ξενική κρίσις. But the ι of [κρ]ίσει is plain on the copper plate. In what follows, Rangabé's punctuation and reading (Ξένυς for Ξένοις) gives a simple sense. 'For the aliens the witnesses are, of the Molossians, Androkkas the Dodonaean. . . . &c.; of the Thesprotians, Dokimos the Larissaeon &c.' The concluding words appear to mean 'In the year of office of Philoxenos, son of Onopernos, Prostates of Zeus Naïos and Dione.' Lines 4-11

¹ Better Νόου, i.e. Ναῖου.

² Egger however (to whom the restoration ξενικ[α]ῖ κρίσει is due) takes the view that the ξενική κρίσις corresponds exactly to the ξενικὸν δικαστήριον of Pollux (*Onom.* viii. 63), a body of judges or ordinary citizens invited from without to decide in cases where local tribunals were held to be inadequate from excess of business or partiality.

³ Θεὸς Τύχα. Ὑμένιος Λυσ[αν]ία . . . | ιονα Ἐρμων Πτω[λεμαίου] . . . | ξενικῇ λύσιμ . . . | Μάρτυρες, Ἀγέλ[ας] . . . | . . . λισιοι Δαμος . . . |

⁴ . . . Μενελάω[ν] . . . | . . . ον

ἀπέλυ[σεν] . . . | [ξενικα]ῖ λύσει τριω . . . | . . . (ἐπὶ) προστάτα πολιτ[ῶ]ν | Φειδολάου. Μάρ[τυ]ρες, Ἄρμενος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀνδ . . . | . . . Φειδουλ αὐς . . . λοι . . . | Λωποίλους . . . ος | Κέλαιθος. With this reading Carapanos's 'λυσεῖτριον, perhaps a local synonym for λύτρον,' disappears. Rangabé (*Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 118) suggests [ἐπ]ὶ λύσει τριώ[ν] and Πολιτ he says is obviously the beginning of the name of the Prostates. (Comp. *Dem. F. L.* 394, where the ransom of a hoplite is given at from three to five minae.)

contain the names of witnesses or perhaps public advocates assigned to aliens at the expense of the state. Seven were Molossians, the remainder, probably also seven, were Thesprotians. *Θρεσπρωτῶν* for *Θεσπρ.* is an obvious error of the engraver; so also *Φίλιπος* and perhaps *οἶδε* for *τοῖδε*. If *Ὀνόπερνος* in line 11 is, as Rangabé thinks, a mistake for *Ὀνοπέρνον*, Philippos and Philon may have been two brothers, sons of Onopernos and brothers of the Prostates, Philoxenos. It was not uncommon in Greek families for brothers to have the first element in their names common.¹ Among the *μάρτυρες Μολοσσῶν* six are Dodonaean, and a seventh, *Κραῖνυς*, is styled *Φοινάτος*; the same ethnicon occurs in Pl. xxix. 3. Probably an Epirote district is meant. Certain Thesprotians, again, are characterised as *Λαρισαῖοι*, whence we learn of a hitherto unknown Thesprotian Larissa. The *Ἐλεαῖος* following may be a citizen of Elea, on the modern bay of Phanari; the two *Τιαῖοι* should come from an unknown Thesprotian locality, Tia. *Πείανδρος*, if not an engraver's mistake, is obviously the equivalent of *Πείσανδρος*.

An inscription, which as regards its subject stands alone, records the purchase of a slave. It is inscribed *au pointillé* on copper, and is given on Pl. xxix. 2. *Θεὸς Τύχᾱ Ματυδικᾱ | Πο[λύ]ενον ἐξεπρίατο | [ἀπὸ Δ]αμοξένας μνᾱς | [ἀ]ργυρίου. Μάρτυρες | Ἀλεξάνωρ, Φαττίδας | οπαῖος, Εὐκλείδας, | [ἐ]πὶ ναῖάρχου Μενεχάρ[μου], ἐπὶ προστάτα (sic) Μολ | [λοσσ]οῦ Ἀγέλλυος | Φοί[ν]ατοι.* A slave, it seems then, was worth a mina. The word *Φαττίδας* adds one to the few instances of *F* in the Dodona collection; this letter and the general character of the inscription may perhaps assign it to the fourth century B.C. The date of our inscription is apparently marked by two eponymous officers. The first is Menecharmos, the *Naïarch*,² a word which can hardly mean anything else than director of the *Náïa* or games in honour of *Ζεὺς Νάϊος*. The second officer is Agellys, 'Molossian Prostates,' a remarkable variation from the usual *Προστάτας Μολοσσῶν*.

Pl. xxxii. 3³ is noteworthy only from the mention of an *ἀγωνοθέτης* as eponymous. His function was probably that of

¹ Comp. *Ἀνταγθίδας* and *Ἀντοκρατίδας* on an inscription mentioned p. 106, above.

² The form *ναῖαρχος* could not come from *ναός* as Bursian supposes.

³ . . . *ν ἀγωνοθε[τοῦντος]* . . . | [*Ἀν*]-*δρομάχου* . . . | . . . *τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν* | . . . | . . . *τοὶ Ναῖκοι* *ἐν* . . . | . . . *εκατ* . . . Comp. also pl. xxv. 2 (above, p. 106).

superintending the festival of the Naïa, but it is not clear what was his relation to the *Ναῖαρχος*. That the office survived to a late period seems to follow from the mention, in an inscription (Carap. p. 158) copied by Cyriac of Ancona at Jannina, of an *ἀγωνοθέτης Διὸς Νάου καὶ Διώνης*, P. Memmius Leon, who was also *ιερεὺς Σεβαστῶν* and *ἀγωνοθέτης μεγάλων Ἀκτίων Καισαρήων*, in the 68th Aktias (240 A.D.).

From Pl. xxxiii. 2¹ we learn that the Epirotes granted the right of intermarriage ([ἐ]πιγαμί[αν]) to some community whose name is lost. If the restoration [δόμει]ν is right, it may have been the Agrigentines (cf. xxviii. 2, p. 112).

Lastly, we have to notice an inscription recording a deed of donation of certain properties. It is engraved on copper *au pointillé*, and is found in Pl. xxix. 1. Carapanos's text, which begins *Θεὸς Τύχα αἱ σύμμα[χοι] δίδωσι*, is unsatisfactory throughout, and is condemned at once by the faulty syntax of the opening words. The text has been restored with some success by Rangabé (*Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 117). He reads: *Θεὸς Τύχα | [τ]α συμμ[αχία] . . . | δίδωσι [γὰρ κ]αὶ τὰ ἐπιπό- λα[ια] | ἅπαντα ἄρουραν ἀγ Κοσσῶ | λειμῶνα ἐπ' Ἀθερίῳ· ἀμπέλους παρ' Κότα | οἰκόπεδον. | [ἐ]πὶ προστα (sic) | [Μν]ῆσωνος | [Κε]λαίθου.*

'God: Fortune. (The town Dodona?) gives to the League certain land and all that is found upon it; a field at Kossos; a meadow near Atherium; vines adjacent to Kotas (or Kotaion, *Κοταί[φ]*); a homestead. In the year of office of Mnason, son of Kelaithos, Prostates.' Thus *ΑΓΚΟΣΣΩΙ, ΕΠΑΘΕΡΙΩΙ, ΠΑΡΚΟΤΑΙ*, are probably not names of persons, as Carapanos thought, but names of places preceded by a preposition. The mention of the Prostates shows that the document is a decree of the Molossians, whether emanating from the *κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν* or from a single town, e.g. Dodona. The absence of the name of the grantors may be accounted for by supposing that this decree is one of a series in which *ἡ πόλις τῶν Δωδωναίων* or a similar formula has been written once for all.

E. S. ROBERTS.

¹ . . . οὗς τύχα . . . [ἔδοξε τοῖς το[ῖς] . . . [ἐ]πιγαμί[αν] . . . | σόλος
Α]πὶ πρώταις (sic) . . . [δόμει]ν αὐ- ε . . . | ἄλλος . . . [ἐπὶ π[ροστ]άτα]..

EXPLORATION OF THE BOEOTIAN ORCHOMENUS.

THE traveller from Athens who desires to visit the Boeotian Orchomenus proceeds thither on the turnpike-road by way of Eleusis, Thebes, and Lebadeia. He leaves Athens by descending the Hermes Street, turning to the right nearly opposite to the Theseum, and passing on the left the magnificent ancient funeral monuments at the Hagia-Trias as well as the Dipylum, and other vast ruins brought to light in the adjoining excavations. He soon passes to his left the Botanical Garden, enters (18 minutes) the vast plantations of olive trees, and sees at a distance of half a mile to his right the hill of Colonos, which has been rendered celebrated by Sophocles, and on which are the sepulchres of Charles Lenormant and Karl Otfried Müller. In the grove he successively passes three arms of the river Kephissus, which are nearly always dry; among the olive trees there are several to which the famous Athenian botanist, Th. von Heldreich, ascribes an age of more than 1,500 years. It is probable that for some distance from its issue from the olive grove (20 minutes) the present road is identical with the ancient *sacred road*, for we see there the little chapel of St. George, apparently on the site of a temple on the ancient roadside; a number of excavated rock-cut tombs, which border the road, can leave almost no doubt in this respect. But at the foot of the conical hill of Poikilus, at the entrance of the defile (20 minutes), the *sacred road* appears to have turned to the right, whilst the modern way turns to the left. The defile is bordered on the right by Mount Icarus, on the left by Mount Corydallus (that is, lark, *Alauda cristata*), which latter is crowned by a tower and ruined walls. On the left, in entering the defile, we see in an excavation foundations of large stones,

which mark the famous sepulchre of the Hetaera Pythionike, excavated in 1855 by General Vassoignes. This monument, which is described by Pausanias¹ as the most remarkable and most magnificent of all ancient Greek tombs, was—according to him—erected by the Macedonian Harpalos in honour of Pythionike, with whom he had fallen so deeply in love that he had made her his lawful wife.

This pass, which is easily defensible, forms the direct approach to Athens from the Peloponnesus, and it was, therefore, very important in antiquity from a military point of view. From the summit of the defile (20 minutes) the traveller enjoys, in looking back, a splendid view of Athens, the plain, the Piræus, and the surrounding mountains. The road descends thence by a gentle slope to the Monastery of Daphné, which is situated in a pretty dale and is partly in ruins. In the walls of the church, as well as in the surrounding walls, may be seen a vast number of squared blocks of marble, which have evidently belonged to some Hellenic building, doubtless the temple of Apollo mentioned by Pausanias.² But probably this sanctuary did not stand on the site of the monastery, but a little higher up, to the left of the road, where we now see the remains of a Byzantine church. In a vault below the narthex of the church of the monastery, the tombs of the French dukes of Athens have been discovered by Buchon. By the side of the monastery we see the remains of a thick wall, which once defended the passage. On leaving Daphne the road goes along the left border of the ravine, which commences here and becomes gradually deeper. The *sacred road* followed the right-hand border of the ravine, for we see it there in many places cut into the rock. The ravine soon becomes less profound, the valley more narrow; the road then emerges into a narrow valley planted with olive trees and bordered by the sea, which forms here a large gulf, and in which we see at a short distance the island of Salamis. To the right of the road (30 minutes) we see the temple of Aphrodité Philé, of which the foundations are partly extant; it was erected in honour of Philé, wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and was leaning on the rock in which we see many niches. In front of this temple Pausanias mentions a remarkable wall of unwrought stones. The ruins of this wall, which was of the so-called

¹ Pausanias, i. 7, 5.

² *Idem*.

Cyclopean masonry, are still extant, and some of the large boulders are still *in situ*.

A large house in ruins, formerly the khan of Scaramanga (15 minutes), which is on the sea-shore close to the road, marks the half-way between Athens and Eleusis. We see thence in the gulf the two little Pharmakoussae islands, now called Kyradhes or the Megali and the Mikra Kyra, on the largest of which was shown in antiquity the tomb of Circé.¹ Further on the road is cut in the rocks of the shore and identical with the *sacred road*. On leaving the rocks (10 minutes), we see to the right a small plain occupied by the first of the two salt-lakes of Rheiti (*Ῥεῖτοι*), whose waters were supposed by the ancients to come from the channel of Euboea. One of them was sacred to Demeter, the other to Persephoné; the priests of Eleusis alone had the privilege of fishing in them. The *sacred road* may easily be traced in the rocks around the first lake, and probably also went around the second, whilst the modern road follows the sea-shore. Immediately after the salt lakes the traveller passes the Eleusinian Kephissus and enters the fertile Thriasian Plain, so called from the demus of Thria; it extends all along the gulf from the Rheiti salt lakes to Eleusis; it is protected by the mountains of Salamis against the south winds, whilst the chain of the Cithaeron protects it on the west, the chain of Parnes on the north, and the mountains Corydallus and Icarus on the east side. The island of Salamis, which is now a bare rock and cannot feed its 700 or 800 inhabitants, most of whom gain their living on the mainland, seems to have been a fertile island in antiquity, for it could boast of 20,000 inhabitants and even of a river anciently called Bokarus or Bokalia in Strabo's time; from the abundance of its pine forests its ancient name was Pityussa.²

Between the Kephissus and Eleusis the traveller sees on the road-side a number of ancient ruins, the first of which (15 minutes) to the left seem to mark the Herōon of Eumolpus, the mythic founder of the Eleusinian mysteries; then (15 minutes) a hillock covered with fragments of a marble sepulchre, identified by some as the tomb of Strato, by others as that of the hero Hippothoon. Further on (30 minutes) to the left is the monumental bridge built by Hadrian over the Kephissus

¹ Strabo, ix. p. 395.

² Strabo, ix. p. 394.

but now covered by the alluvium of the river. Fr. Lenormant partly excavated it in 1863. Afterwards (15 minutes), at the entrance of Eleusis, the site of the temple of Triptolemus is marked by the church of Hagios Zacharias. Eleusis, now vulgarly called Elefsina, was the birthplace of Aeschylus, and is thought to have derived its name from the advent, *ἔλευσις*, of Demeter. It owed its celebrity to the temple of Demeter and Persephoné and to the mysteries celebrated in honour of these goddesses, which were considered as the most sacred in Greece. The temple was built on the eastern extremity of a rocky height which runs parallel to the shore, and is separated to the west by a small plain from the slopes of Mount Kerata. The site of the temple had been artificially levelled, and above it was the acropolis.¹ The city occupied the triangular space which extends between the hill and the shore. The temple of Demeter was, according to Strabo, the largest in Greece; its plan was made by Ictinus the architect of the Parthenon. On the north side are two sacred inclosures and two successive Propylaea; the former are preceded by a dilapidated pavement, in the midst of which we see the foundations and some other remains of the temple of Artemis Propylaea. The first Propylaea are an exact copy of those of the Acropolis of Athens. The Propylaea of the second inclosure are much inferior in size to those of the first; they were built by Appius Claudius Pulcher in the very year of the battle of Pharsalia. These edifices were excavated in 1860 by Fr. Lenormant at the cost of the French Government.

The great temple of Demeter proper is still covered by the houses of the modern village, but it will now soon be excavated by the Archaeological Society of Athens, the Greek Government having succeeded in purchasing gradually all the houses, and having allotted to the villagers on the sea-shore the necessary land to erect new dwellings. Leaving Eleusis the carriage-road follows the plain in a north-west direction until (1 hour) the village of Mandra is reached; it then mounts a well-wooded and very picturesque gorge, and reaches (1 h. 30 m.) the khan of Palaeo-Kundura situated in a lonely vale. Further on (1 h. 30 m.) a height is reached, whence the summits of Mounts Hymettus and Pentelicus can be seen beyond a first

¹ 'Castellum, quod et imminet, et circumdatum est templo,'—Livy, xxxi. 25.

mountain range. The road again descends and enters a valley, which extends to the west and passes, near the little village of Mazi, a Hellenic tower supposed by some to mark the site of the ancient Oenoë. The road enters another cultivated gorge and reaches (30 minutes) the khan of Casa, at the foot of Mount Cithaeron, near one of the principal sources of the Eleusinian Kephissus, at a distance of 4 h. 30 m. from Eleusis. Close to the khan are barracks of gendarmes. Just in front of it, on a steep rock, is the ancient fortress of Eleutherae, now called *Γυφτόκαστρον*, of which His Highness the Hereditary Prince Bernhard of Saxe-Meiningen has lately published an excellent plan with a good dissertation. This fortress marked the limit of Attica and Boeotia, and defended the defile of the Cithaeron; it belonged to Attica, but was not comprised among its *demes*, hence its name. It is 1,200 feet long, its greatest breadth is 330 feet; the walls, which consist of excellent Hellenic masonry 8 feet 8 inches thick, are flanked with protruding square towers whose walls are 5 feet 5 inches thick. It had seven gates, whose opening measures 4 feet 6 inches below and 4 feet at the top. This is no doubt the best preserved fortress in Greece.

From the khan of Casa the road mounts in zigzags up to the summit of Mount Cithaeron, which is overgrown with pines, whence its present name Elatia. This mount is the theatre of ancient legends, among which that of the exposure of Oedipus is the most celebrated. The carriage-road descends thence to the north into the great plain, and after having passed (1 h. 20 m.) the bridge over the Asopus, it leaves to the right, on a sort of triangle formed by that river, the supposed site of the fortified camp of Mardonius. Thebes is reached in 3 h. 30 m. from the khan of Casa. The present city which occupies the Cadmeia, is most decidedly the most filthy and disgusting city in Greece; I strongly advise travellers rather to establish their night quarters in the meanest village barn than in the so-called hôtel at Thebes. No ruin of an ancient monument has been preserved in Thebes; only some fragments of sculptured marbles which we see here and there in the housewalls and a few scattered drums of marble columns testify to the ancient splendour and opulence of the city. Quite surprising is the scanty accumulation of ancient *débris* here, which seems to have only

in one place a depth of ten feet, and generally only amounts to two or three feet. On other ancient sites ancient potsherds at least are found which have some value to archaeology, but here nothing that even a fanatical archaeologist would care to pick up was found when some years ago the new streets were cut through the soil down to the virgin rock. But if the accumulation of *débris* is but very insignificant in the Cadmeia, there is no accumulation of *débris* at all in any direction outside of it, so that it is impossible to say on which side or sides of the Cadmeia the lower city may have extended. The ancient city together with the Cadmeia was forty-three stadia in circumference, but as it comprised in its area the suburbs with their gardens it was not less than seventy stadia.¹ Homer² mentions only *Ἰπποθῆβαι*, the Cadmeia having been destroyed by the Epigoni, and probably not having been yet rebuilt in the poet's time.

The road from Thebes to Lebadeia (4 h. 30 m.) is devoid of interest; it leaves Thebes on the north-west side, passes an arm of the Ismenus, goes along the heights which separate the plain of Thebes from that of Leuctra and Plataea, and crosses the Tenerian Plain (τὸ Τηνερικὸν Πεδίον) comprised between the last spurs of Helicon and Mount Sphingios, or Phoenikios (now called Phaga), on which the legend of the Sphinx is localised. On the last spur of Sphingios there are some remains of Hellenic masonry, which probably mark the site of Onchestus. Further on the road runs along the swamps of the Lake of Copais, at the foot of the chain of Helicon; it passes to the right of an ancient tower, further on the village of Mulki, the rivulet Kephalaria, and after that the site of Haliartus, one of the towns of the ancient Boeotian confederation, which was destroyed by Xerxes; but having been rebuilt it counted among the principal cities of Boeotia. It was in ruins in the time of Strabo and Pausanias. It covered the plateau of a hill which rises hardly more than fifty feet above the Lake of Copais, but all that is now to be seen of it are the remains of a wall of polygonal blocks, some rock-cut tombs, and masses of scattered wrought stones. There is no accumulation of *débris*, and, therefore, no excavations can be made. A small rivulet, which gushes forth from the north side of the rock, runs into the swamps of

¹ Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, vol. i. p. 225, Leipzig, 1862.

² *Il.* ii. 505.

the Copais. The road next passes the khan of Siakho and then the ruins of Coronea, which are left on a height at a short distance to the left. The road runs afterwards along the foot of Mount Laphystion with vast swamps to the right, until at last the fertile plain and the town of Lebadeia are reached. This city was, according to Pausanias, built by the Athenian Lebados below the ancient Homeric city of Mideia, of which some scanty remains still seem to be extant. But the present Lebadeia is not identical with the Lebadeia of classical times, whose site is marked by an isolated hill at the point where the river Herkyna reaches the valley. It was celebrated for the famous oracle of Trophonius, which was consulted by Croesus and Mardonius, and which still enjoyed a high reputation in the time of Plutarch and Pausanias. The present city is built in a picturesque situation, at the foot of a steep rock crowned with the ruins of a castle of the middle ages, and at the entrance of a wild mountain-gorge, from which the river Herkyna bursts forth. On entering the gorge we see immediately to the right in the vertical rock very numerous vestiges of the oracle of Trophonius, as, for instance, a great many niches of various sizes, also a chamber of cubic form measuring ten feet in each direction; the ceiling is slightly cut in the form of a vault; to the right and left are benches cut in the rock, and there are marks of the chamber having once had a door; on both sides of the chamber are niches, no doubt for *cavotos*. This chamber is cut out in the vertical rock at a height of about six feet above the ground. There is also a passage 3 feet 4 inches broad, 2 feet 2 inches high, which is said to lead to a chamber containing a cistern and a door on the opposite side. But this can hardly be the real entrance to the oracle, which from the description of Pausanias,¹ and according to the most reasonable conjecture, may be looked for within the lower walls of the modern castle, on the top of the very rock which contains the niches and the cubic chamber, where the accumulation of *débris* is about twenty feet in depth. It might, therefore, be easily excavated.

My honoured friend, Professor A. H. Sayce of Oxford, who accompanied me to Orchomenus in April last, and assisted me in my labours there, called my attention to a shrilling sound, not unlike the cry of some kind of bird, which is heard every

¹ ix. 39.

minute or so repeated in two different places in the narrow gorge, about 150 yards beyond the oracle of Trophonius, and he asked me whether these sounds may not have had something to do with the origin of the oracle. They must be produced by some of the water of the Herkyna rushing through underground channels; but then it is astonishing that the sound should be in the two places exactly alike. The gorge contains several natural caverns, and its aspect is so striking, mysterious, and awe-inspiring, that I can only compare it with the gorge at the top of which the Styx issues on Mount Cyllene in Arcadia. Beyond the gorge to the left we see in the vertical rock a long cavern containing a chapel, to which there is no other access than by a lift attached to strong chains. Very remarkable are the marble quarries in and immediately beyond Lebadeia, in which all the blocks for the ancient monuments at Orchomenus and probably also those for the edifices at Chaeroneia and other neighbouring cities have been cut. Through the decomposing influence of the air this marble presents a white colour, but in breaking off a piece one sees that the fracture has a blackish colour. Lebadeia is said to have been under the Turkish dominion the most flourishing city in Northern Greece, and to have had 1,500 houses. It has decayed much since the War of Independence, and there are many houses in ruins, but still it is a city of about 5,000 inhabitants, and it presents an aspect of wealth and cleanliness. Accommodation for the night may be had at the khan, but the master of the police, Mr. Loukides, will never allow foreigners, and particularly Englishmen, to take up their lodgings anywhere else than at his house, where he treats them with bountiful hospitality. I express here my warmest gratitude to this gentleman for all the disinterested services he has rendered me during my excavations at Orchomenus in 1880 and 1881.

The distance from Lebadeia to Orchomenus in an air-line is hardly more than four miles, but the many windings of the road make it nearly seven miles. The traveller has to proceed on horseback, as the turnpike-road from Lebadeia to Lamia can only be used for half the way to Orchomenus. This road leaves Lebadeia on the north side, crosses the Herkyna (15 min.), and then turns to the east between Mount Thurium and the river which bends to the south-east. Having reached (1 hour)

the last spur of Mount Thurium, the traveller leaves the carriage-road and proceeds by a zigzag footpath across the swampy fields, passing at least a dozen very narrow wooden bridges, having to his left the villages Rhomaico and Arapokhori. When near the former he perceives at some distance to the north-west a conical tumulus, and he passes another perfectly similar one near the village of Skripu. Both these tumuli, which exactly resemble the so-called heroic tombs of the Troad, are called here *Magula*, which I took for a corruption of the Russian word for tomb, 'mogila,' the more so as the *o* is pronounced as an *a*. But Mr. Eustratiades, the Ephorus of Antiquities in Greece, tells me that 'magula' is an Albanian word meaning a female breast, and he thinks the tumuli have got this name from their breast-like form. Colonel Leake¹ holds the tumulus near Skripu to be a monument of the battle between Sylla and the forces of Mithridates under Archelaus. At last (1 h. 25 m.) the traveller passes the Kephissus by a long stone bridge of Turkish masonry, and enters the dirty village of Skripu, where for a day or two accommodation may be had at the monastery of the Θεοτόκος, of which Father Theodosius is the pious and hospitable prior (ἡγούμενος). Skripu, which has about 110 houses, is built partly on the rocky base of the southern spur of Mount Hypantheion (Hyphanteion), which is nothing else than the west-north-west slope of Mount Acontion, partly in the plain on the bank of the Kephissus, where, after having flowed along the southern side of Mount Acontion, it turns its course from east to north-east, and thence north into the marshes of the Lake of Copais. Not unlike many other Greek cities, Orchomenus occupied the triangular slope of a steep hill (Mount Hypantheion) at its rise from the plain; and it possessed, as Colonel Leake² remarks, in perfection those advantages of position which the Greek engineers generally sought for, being defended on every side by precipices, rivers, and marshes. Mount Hypantheion terminates to the west-north-west, and just in front of the Acontium is its culminating point, which is a rock about 120 feet in diameter and of nearly circular form. This rock was occupied by the acropolis, built of large well wrought blocks, the walls of which are more or less preserved.

¹ *Travels in Northern Greece*, ii. p. 143.

² *Travels in Northern Greece*, ii. p. 145.

traces of having been worked with iron pickaxes. This circumstance as well as the general character of the masonry does not, I think, admit of the supposition that the castle might be older than the Macedonian period, and this is also the opinion of Professor Sayce. It certainly appears that the ancient Minyeian Orchomenus did not extend so far, because in the whole castle we failed to perceive a single stone which might claim a high antiquity. As may be seen by the map on the preceding page, this castle has only a small and narrow approach, between walls which for the last 200 yards are nearly parallel and not more than twenty or thirty yards asunder; these walls, which are pretty well preserved, consist of polygons well fitted together; but as the latter likewise bear evident marks of having been worked with iron picks, we do not feel authorised in attributing to them a higher antiquity than that of the castle, the less so as the walls would have no *raison d'être* without the castle. If they have been made of polygons it was probably only in order to impart to them greater strength and solidity. In these walls are several doors and gates, one of which is larger than the rest, and has a tower behind it.

The continuation of the southern wall, which Colonel Leake could trace with scarcely any intermission through a distance of three quarters of a mile, has now disappeared; Professor Sayce could find but a few isolated traces of it; but he has been able to trace through a distance of half a mile the continuation of the northern wall, intersected by many towers, of which, however, only part of the foundations remain. One of these towers is remarkable, because it is just below the wall which I have partly excavated, and which runs across the Hypantheion from north to south, and appears to have been the fortification-wall of the Minyeian Orchomenus on the west side; this seems the more probable as a sort of moat may be traced for some distance on its western side. A little to the west of the afore-mentioned tower is a vertical cavern, about sixty feet deep, from the foot of which bubbles forth one of the sources of the river Melas, now called Mavropotami, synonyms derived apparently from the dark colour of its transparent waters. The rocks round about the upper end of the cavern are artificially cut, apparently for the foundations of a building, and it seems very likely to Professor Sayce and to me that here

once stood the temple of Heracles, which according to Pausanias was erected at the sources of the Melas, which forms a lake and runs into the Kephissus.¹ It is true that Pausanias adds that the temple of Heracles is at a distance of seven stadia from Orchomenus, but this is in contradiction with his statement that it is at the sources of the Melas, and further in contradiction with Plutarch, who tells us, in the *Life of Sylla*, that the Melas rises beyond Orchomenus.

Of the city wall on the south-west, south, and south-east sides, which Leake still saw at the beginning of our century, no trace is left. The remains of a large bridge of huge rudely-wrought boulders may still be seen in the Kephissus, directly south of the ancient city. Strabo² remarks that the Orchomenus of his time was thought to stand on a different site from the more ancient city, the inundations of the lake having forced the inhabitants to retire from the plain towards Mount Acontion. This opinion certainly appears to be corroborated by the position of the treasury outside the city walls seen by Leake, for it cannot be conceived that Minyas could have placed it so. It is, therefore, very probable that in the height of its power, the ancient city may have extended as far as the banks of the Kephissus. This appears the more likely as the monastery of Skripu, which stands about midway between the treasury and the Kephissus, occupies the exact site of the temple of the Graces, for the marble pedestal consecrated to these deities, which is now in the church, was found in an excavation made on the spot. This temple was built of large blocks of sandstone, and it appears to have been demolished for the sake of building the monastery, in the walls of which, and particularly in those of the church, may be seen the most varied specimens of the temple's building material, namely, pavement-blocks, bases of columns, and a very large mass of drums of columns, all of sandstone.

According to Pausanias, the temple of the Graces was very ancient, the cultus of these deities having been instituted by Eteocles, son of Andreus, or of the Kephissus, for whom they had fallen from heaven in the shape of rude pieces of rock. Pausanias adds that artistically sculptured statues of the Graces were only put up in his time, and that idols of

¹ Pausanias, ix. 38.

² Strabo, ix. p. 416.

these goddesses in the shape of rude stones were held in the highest veneration.¹

The idea involuntarily occurs to us that these heaven-fallen rude pieces of rock are probably meteoric stones. In honour of the Graces were celebrated the Charitiesiae, games of poets and musicians, which attracted numerous crowds from all parts of Greece, Asia Minor, and Magna Graecia.²

The first mention of Orchomenus is found in the *Iliad*,³ where Achilles rejects the offers made by the king of Mycenae, rich in gold: 'Even if he offered me ten and twenty times more than what he now possesses and what he may still obtain, even if he offered me all the gold hoarded up in Orchomenus or in Egyptian Thebes, where large wealth is stored in the houses.'

The city was called the Minyeian Orchomenus on account of its king, Minyas, and his son and successor, Orchomenus.⁴ Perhaps owing to his great wealth, Minyas is said by Pausanias to be the son of Chryses (probably from χρυσός, gold). Pausanias goes on to say: 'Minyas had such large revenues that he exceeded in wealth all men before him; he was, so far as we know, the first who built an edifice to store his treasures. Now the Hellenes have a passion for admiring more the remarkable things in foreign countries than in their own; in fact, distinguished writers happen to give a most minute description of the Egyptian Pyramids, whilst they make not the slightest mention of the treasury of Minyas or the walls of Tiryns, which are not less marvellous.'⁵ Further on Pausanias states: 'The treasury of

¹ Paus. ix. 34 and 38.

² O. Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer*, pp. 177—186; Clarke, *Travels*, ii. p. 152.

³ ix. 379—382:

οὐδ' εἴ μοι δεκάκις τε καὶ εἰκοσάκις
τόσσα δοίη

ἔσσα τέ οἱ νῦν ἔστι, καὶ εἴ ποθεν ἄλλα
γένοιτο,

οὐδ' ὅς' ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσσεται,
οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας

Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν
κτῆματα κεῖται.

⁴ *Iliad*, ii. 511: οἱ δ' Ἀσπληδόνα
ναῖον ἴδ' Ὀρχομενὸν Μινύειον. See also
Pindar, Ol. xiv. 4, Thucydides, iv. 76,
and Strabo, ix. p. 414, who confirms

the tradition of the former power and
wealth of Orchomenus.

⁵ Pausanias, ix. 36: Πρόσδοι δὲ
ἐγίνοντο τῷ Μινύᾳ τηλικαῦται μέγεθος
ὥς ὑπερβαλέσθαι τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλούτῳ
θησαυρὸν τε ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἴσμεν Μινύας
πρῶτος ἐς ὑποδοχὴν χρημάτων φκοδομή-
σατο. Ἕλληνες δὲ ἄρα εἰσὶ δεινοὶ τὰ
ὑπερόρια ἐν θαύματι τίθεσθαι μείζονι ἢ
τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὅπότε γε ἀνδράσιν ἐπιφανέσιν
ἐς συγγραφὴν πυραμίδας μὲν τὰς παρὰ
Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπῆλθεν ἐξηγήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ
ἀκριβέστατον, θησαυρὸν δὲ τὸν Μινύου
καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ ἐν Τίρυνθι οὐδὲ ἐπὶ
βραχὺ ἤγαγον μνήμης, οὐδὲν ὄντα ἐλάτ-
τονος θαύματος.

Minyas, which is a wonderful work, second to none in Greece or elsewhere, is built in the following manner: it is a round stone building, whose summit forms rather an obtuse point; it is said that the upper stone holds the whole edifice together.¹

It is therefore evident that when Pausanias visited Orchomenus,² the treasury was still entire. It was of beehive form and much like the so-called treasury of Atreus at Mycenae. As it had been half demolished and the remainder buried beneath thick layers of earth and *débris*, so that only the upper part of the gate was visible, it made on nearly all travellers the impression that it had been entirely destroyed with the exception of the gate, and so it is, for instance, described in the guide-book of Emile Isambert³ as well as by K. O. Müller,⁴ who adds: 'Of the Orchomenian treasury nothing is left but a large marble slab, supported by two upright walls, which was assuredly the entrance to the ancient building.' But even Colonel Leake⁵ seems to have had no idea of the extent of the ruins of the treasury, for he says: 'Some ruins, which have every appearance of having belonged to the treasury, are found to the eastward of the lower wall.'

But attempts have twice been made to excavate the ruins; the first time at the beginning of this century, as Colonel Leake⁶ tells us, by the artists employed by Lord Elgin, 'who were, however, deterred from making much progress by the huge masses of stone which presented themselves, and which they had not the means of removing.' The second attempt to excavate it was made in 1862, by the late *démarch* of Skripu, Gadakes, who intended to use the marble blocks for building a new church, though the village was already blessed with two

¹ ix. 38: Θησαυρὸς δὲ ὁ Μινύου, θαῦμα ὄν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν ἐτέρωθεν οὐδεὶς ὕστερον, πεποιεῖται τρόπον τοιούτῳ· λίθου μὲν εἰργασται, σχῆμα δὲ περιφερὲς ἔστιν αὐτῷ, κυρτὴ δὲ οὐκ ἔς ἄγαν ὀξὺ ἀνηγμένη· τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω τῶν λίθων φασὶν ἀρμονίαν παντὶ εἶναι τῷ οἰκοδομήματι.

² It is difficult to determine when Pausanias visited Orchomenus, for he lived under Hadrian (see i. 5) and the two Antonines (see ii. 27, viii. 43, x. 34). The latest date given in his

work is the year 174 A.D.; we find it by adding the 217 years, which the *Periegete* reckons from the restoration of Corinth to his time, to the year 44 B.C. or 710 of Rome, the date of that restoration.

³ *Itinéraire de l'Orient*, Paris, 1873, p. 181.

⁴ *Orchomenos und die Minyer*, p. 235.

⁵ *Travels in Northern Greece*, ii. p. 148.

⁶ *Travels in Northern Greece*, ii. p. 148.

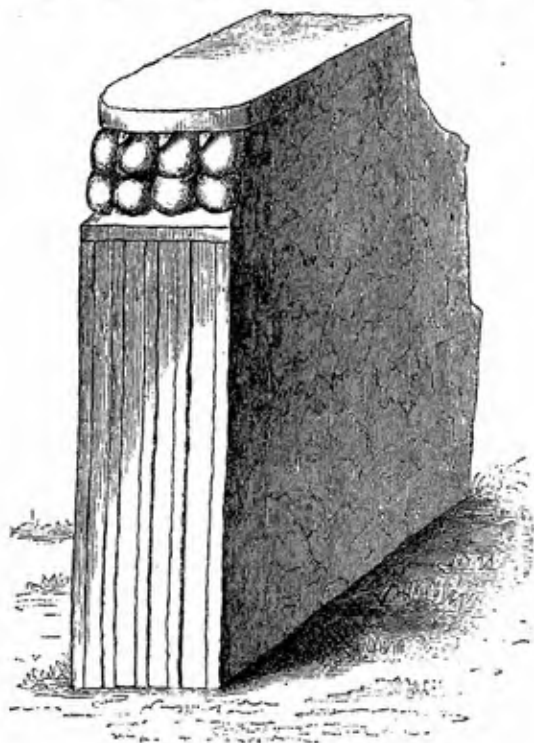
churches, each of which is large enough to hold all the inhabitants, not only of Skripu, but also of the neighbouring village of Petromagula. He had already destroyed the whole *dromos* and taken out the slabs, some of which were so large that the pious man could cut a column out of each of them; and was just going to destroy the great gate, when happily his vandalism was reported to the Minister of Public Instruction at Athens, and stopped. Strange to say, the gate has made on all visitors, and even on so distinguished a traveller as Colonel Leake,¹ the impression that it is of white marble; but most decidedly it consists, like all the rest of the treasury, of the above-described blackish marble cut in the quarry of Lebadeia. I excavated this treasury in November and December, 1880, in company with my wife. We found at once that Lord Elgin's attempt to excavate it had failed merely because he had begun the excavation from the gate, where, of course, the difficulties of removing the stones were very great. Thus it is not astonishing that his excavation in the *dromos* before the treasury did not even reach the great threshold. But we have to congratulate ourselves on his non-success, for the marble slabs contained in the treasury ought to remain in it, and their removal would have been a great loss to science. By excavating systematically from above, and not beginning to remove any *débris* through the gate until we had brought it to light to half its height, we had no difficulty at all with the large blocks, which we merely moved as necessity required, from place to place, until we reached the floor of the treasury, on which we put them up in groups on their narrow sides so that they can easily be seen, and do not impede the free passage of visitors. On account of the slopes, up and down which the *débris* had to be carried, I could employ here neither horse-carts nor wheelbarrows, and could remove the earth only in baskets, which were carried by two labourers. My instruments for working consisted of crowbars, pickaxes, shovels, and broad hoes, which are excellent for filling the baskets. I employed from 100 to 121 labourers, about one-half of whom were women, who work here fully as well as the men, but can, of course, only be employed for carrying the *débris* in the baskets. About two-thirds of the labourers were Greeks, the rest gipsies, called here

¹ *Travels in Northern Greece*, ii. p. 140.

Γύφτης, Γύφτισσα, who are all Greek-Christians, lead a sedentary life, have adopted the manners, customs, and superstitions of the Greek peasantry, and sometimes intermarry with them. The daily wages were three drachms (2s.) for the women, and four drachms (2s. 8d.) for the men.

The accumulation of earth and *débris* in the treasury was, on an average, thirty feet deep; it consisted of black earth about six feet deep, followed by very large masses of smaller and larger stones, which must have lain on the outside of the horizontally and vertically curved blocks of which the building was composed, and can have had no other purpose than to keep, by their lateral pressure and ponderous weight, these latter in their position. Below these layers of stones, which must have fallen when the large treasury was destroyed, and the large blocks were taken out for building purposes or to burn into lime, I found sixty to eighty of these large blocks, which appear to have escaped the 'spoilers' hands, and probably could not be taken out easily. Below these large blocks I found successive layers of ashes and other burned material, perhaps the residue of sacrifices, on an average twelve feet deep. On the smoothed rock I came upon a large number of perfectly rectangular marble slabs as well as cornices, which can have had nothing to do with the treasury itself, and must have belonged to some sort of monument—perhaps a sanctuary—which once stood within it. The cornices vary from between 3 feet 7 inches long and 1 foot 7 inches broad to 3 feet 4 inches long and broad; all of them have on one side, in several instances also on two sides, deep grooves made for cramps, which have been so carefully taken out that there is no trace of them left in any of the grooves, and it is, therefore, difficult to say of what metal they consisted. But most probably they were of iron, because I found on the floor of the treasury two pieces of rusted iron whose form can leave almost no doubt that they served as fastenings for the marble, and if so, the sanctuary can hardly belong to a higher antiquity than the Macedonian time. This period is further confirmed by a curiously sculptured marble slab, 2 feet 6 inches high, 2 feet 10½ inches broad, and 7 inches thick, of which I here, under No. I., give a drawing made by Professor E. Ziller; it is very remarkable for its birdlike ornamentation in high

relief. To about the same time seems also to belong a mutilated draped female statue of white marble, of which the legs, the arms, and even the head are missing; it is 3 feet high, 2 feet broad, and 1 foot 6 inches thick. I found here besides, standing on the floor below the burned material, a sort of altar of blackish marble, 1 foot $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad and long, and 1 foot 11 inches high, having a quadrangular hollow 1 foot $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad



NO. 1.—MARBLE SLAB.—Scale 1 : 10.

and long, and $\frac{4}{5}$ inch deep. I found also, below the burned material, some marble pedestals, one of them 2 feet 6 inches long and broad, and 1 foot 11 inches thick, with holes on the upper side for the bronze objects which were fastened to them; on one of the pedestals we see the marks of feet, and, therefore, this at least must have been the pedestal of a statue. I also found here two small marble columns, both about 7 inches

high, and 5 inches thick, one of which resembles the column which we see in low relief between the two lions above the gate of the acropolis of Mycenae. I may further mention a horse-hoof of marble, perhaps a votive offering; an Ionic capital; several plates of crumbling marble, one of which, 2 feet 4 inches long, 1 foot 8 inches broad, has an engraved spiral ornamentation; several hand millstones of trachyte, one of them with incised lines crossing each other; a hand and sandalled foot of a statue of white marble; a slab of marble broken on the left side, with the inscription:—

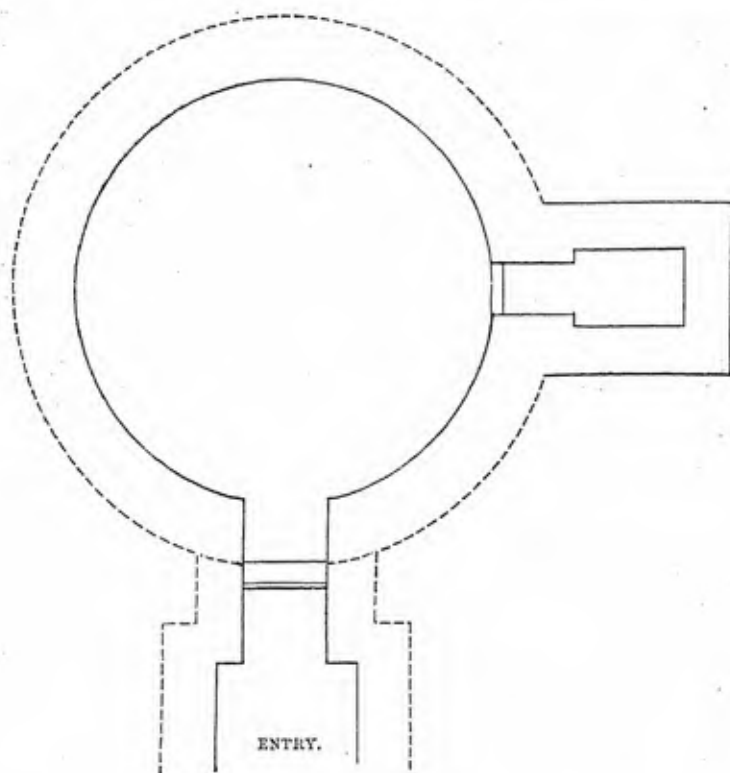
...ΕΙΩΗΡΑΤΕΛΕΙΑ

which Professor Sayce holds to be the end of an hexameter. I found besides a murex, some astragali, boar tusks, whorls of stone and terra cotta; larger disks of slightly baked clay, with a tree impressed on each side; a vase-cover of glass, apparently Roman, with a knob; also a large number of the bronze nails by which the bronze plates were fastened to the walls; also several fragments of blocks of marble containing such nails.

I further found in the treasury masses of both hand-made and wheel-made monochrome prehistoric pottery, mixed with painted pottery like the Mycenaean, as well as later Hellenic, and even Roman pottery. The presence of the latter is easily explained, the treasury having evidently been open in the Macedonian, and certainly in the Roman period. But the prehistoric pottery, of which I shall have to speak hereafter, was probably contained in the *débris* with which the treasury was covered on the outside, so as to appear subterraneous, and it fell into the building when it was destroyed.

Like the so-called treasury of Atreus at Mycenae, this Orchomenian treasury consists of regular horizontal courses of blocks. Of the eight lower courses, every block is still in its place; of the ninth course there remain only eight blocks *in situ* and just as many of the tenth, whereas of the eleventh course there are only four, and of the twelfth only three in their place. All these blocks are of the same blackish marble as the gate. The treasury rests on the well-smoothed, hard limestone rock and is turned nearly due south with a very slight inclination to the east. The shape may be seen from the subjoined plan; it is

13 metres 84 centimetres = 46 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter from south to north, and 14 metres 05 centimetres = 46 feet 10 inches from south-west to north-east and from west to east. This treasury is, therefore, smaller by three feet and some inches than the treasury of Atreus at Mycenae, which is fifty feet in diameter. In the two lowest courses the blocks are, in



PLAN OF TREASURY.

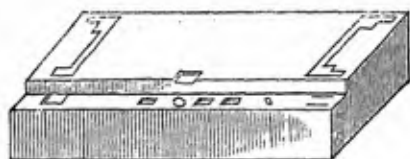
general, larger than in the succeeding ones ; I measured in the lowest course one block 5 feet 2 inches long, by 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick ; another 4 feet 2 inches long, 1 foot 10 inches thick ; in the second course one 5 feet 8 inches long, 1 foot 10 inches thick ; in the third course one 3 feet 7 inches long, 1 foot $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick ; in the fourth course I measured one block 5 feet

4 inches long, and 1 foot 4 inches in thickness; in the fifth course, one block 3 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 1 foot 4 inches thick; in the sixth course one block 2 feet 11 inches long by 1 foot 5 inches thick; in the seventh course one block 1 foot 10 inches long by 1 foot 5 inches thick; in the eighth course, one 3 feet 3 inches long, 1 foot 4 inches thick; another 3 feet 9 inches long, 1 foot 4 inches thick. It is a very remarkable fact that, as in the above-mentioned treasury at Mycenae, from the fifth course (inclusive) upwards, every stone has a hole with the remnants of a bronze nail. Only the eighth course makes an exception, because here every stone has a concave hollow, 2 inches to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and about half an inch deep, in the centre of which is invariably a hole with the remains of a bronze nail.

The height of the gate is 5 metres 51 centimetres = 18 feet $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches, its width is at the top 2 metres 47 centimetres = 8 feet $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, at the bottom 2 metres 71 centimetres = 9 feet $\frac{2}{3}$ inch. It is therefore of about the same proportions as the gate of the treasury of Atreus, whose height is 18 feet and whose width is 8 feet 6 inches at the top, and 9 feet 2 inches at the bottom. This gate is roofed by a marble slab well cut and polished, which is 5 metres = 16 feet 8 inches long, 2 metres 22 centimetres = 7 feet 5 inches broad and 0·96 $\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres = 3 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, and thus quite out of proportion. It is small as compared with the slabs which span the gate of the great treasury at Mycenae, one of which is $27\frac{1}{2}$ to 29 feet long, 17 feet broad and computed to weigh approximately 300,000 English pounds.¹ I call the attention of visitors to the concave or rather oval hollow, which has been cut out of the great block which roofs the gate of the Orchomenian treasury on each side of the outward surface of the two upper ends; as the edges are broken off it appears that they were made to protrude in the shape of horns. There can be no doubt that as in the treasuries at Mycenae, the courses of masonry above the gate were shaped into the form of a triangular niche whose purpose was to bear up the weight which would otherwise have pressed on the lintel. But this niche has disappeared here along with the courses of masonry by which it was formed. Very remarkable is the threshold of the gate, which is 9 feet $\frac{2}{3}$ inch long, 3 feet $\frac{2}{3}$ inch broad, and consists of two superposed well polished

¹ See my *Mycenae*, Plate IV.

slabs. I give here on the scale of about 1 : 65, a drawing of this remarkable threshold, and call attention to the curiously shaped grooves and hinge holes, which prove that there were double folding-doors. These latter, as the smallness of the hinge-holes leads us to conjecture, were of bronze, and they remind us of the gates plated with bronze belonging to an Assyrian temple discovered by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam at Balawât. The entrance to the treasury is 5 metres $29\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres = 17 feet 8 inches long, and the great folding doors were about its middle, the threshold being at a distance of 6 feet 9 inches from its inner, and 7 feet 10 inches from its outer end. At this latter point commenced the *dromos* proper, which, as already mentioned, was completely destroyed in 1862 by the late *demarch* of Skripu. His devastation of the *dromos* has been so complete that, were it not for one stone on the east side, close to the entrance, which he has



THRESHOLD OF TREASURY.

forgotten to take out, it would be impossible to say how broad it was ; but this stone makes it easy to compute that its breadth must have been 18 feet. From the threshold the levelled and smoothed rock extends for 21 feet, slightly sloping, in the *dromos* ; but then it falls off abruptly. At this point, therefore, must have commenced the pavement of the *dromos*. In excavating the *dromos* for about a hundred feet, I struck at half that distance a large number of marble slabs, which seem to have belonged to the pavement of the *dromos* and to have been left there by the *demarch*. Almost in the centre of the treasury we see in the smoothed rock a hole 9 inches deep, 15 broad, and 19 long, which may have served for fastening some monument.

Among the many remarkable marble slabs found in the treasury there is one to which I call the visitor's very special attention, for by its peculiarly curved shape and general appearance

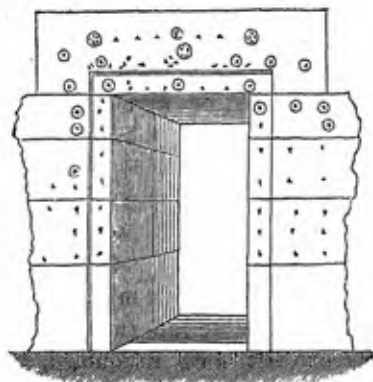
as well as by the round hole, nearly three inches in diameter, which is conspicuous in it, it seems to be the keystone before referred to, which is mentioned by Pausanias as holding the whole building together. I have put it up immediately on entering the treasury to the right.

Travellers who have visited the treasuries in Orchomenus and Mycenae are at a loss to explain the admiration of Pausanias in the one instance and his silence in the other, for the marble alone of which the Orchomenian treasury is built could of course not have induced him to assert that there was nothing more wonderful either in Greece or in any other country, and to compare it with the walls of Tiryns and the Pyramids of Egypt. It has been thought, as for instance by Colonel Leake,¹ 'that the extravagance of the latter comparison is brought down to a reasonable level by the former; and was probably suggested to Pausanias by a peculiarity in the Orchomenian treasury, in which it appears to have differed from that of Mycenae, namely, that the former was not subterranean like the latter, and consequently that its exterior form resembled, in some measure, that of the Egyptian Pyramids. A subterranean building or construction of this kind, when formed on the side of a hill as at Mycenae, presented from without little more than an entrance into the hill between walls ending in a doorway; whereas the description of the treasury of Minyas as rising to a *summit* not very pointed, seems evidently to imply that it *was not hidden in the earth*.' But these suppositions of Colonel Leake and others are altogether erroneous, for, as all visitors can convince themselves with their own eyes, all the marble blocks of which the treasury of Minyas is composed are well wrought and polished on five sides, and the only side on which they are not wrought but left perfectly rough is the outside, which circumstance goes far to prove that this treasury, like its brethren at Mycenae, was destined to be subterranean. This is, moreover, proved by the masses of stones on the outside of the courses of slabs, which, as above explained, could not have been heaped up there with any other intention than to keep, by their ponderous weight, all the stones of the circular layers of masonry in their position. The principle of this construction is that of an arch-shaped

¹ *Travels in Northern Greece*, ii. p. 150.

wall resisting a great superincumbent weight, and deriving its strength and coherence from the weight itself.

Our most remarkable discovery was a *thalamos* in the treasury, and on its east side. It is approached by a small corridor, 9 feet 4 inches long, 7 feet 2 inches high and 5 feet broad, preceded by a most remarkable door, of which I give a drawing.



DOOR OF THALAMOS.

This door, which is 6 feet $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, 3 feet 8 inches wide above, and 3 feet 11 inches below, is formed by the four lower courses of blocks. Its threshold, of which I present a drawing, is 1 foot $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad; it forms to the



THRESHOLD OF THALAMOS.

right on the inner side a projection nearly 5 inches broad, and $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with a round hole for the door-hinge $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, and 4 inches in diameter; in the same direction there is in the block which spans the door a hole 4 inches deep and 3 inches in diameter. On either side we see in the threshold three quadrangular grooves, the innermost 2 inches deep, $4\frac{1}{16}$ inches long, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad; the following $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep,

4 $\frac{4}{16}$ inches long, and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad; the third, 1 inch deep, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. On the right side in the door is a quadrangular hole, 2 inches deep, 3 inches long, and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad. We further see on the right side an incised linear ornament, 5 inches broad, 5 feet 10 inches long. On the left side this ornament is repeated, but in a more elaborate way, and intersected by some 30 concave grooves, about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, which no doubt must once have been filled with bronze. The marble slab which roofs the door is 9 feet long, 2 feet 4 inches thick, and has once been surmounted by another slab, of which some remains are still visible. The former has three series of holes, sometimes single, sometimes in clusters of four together, sometimes in the centre of concave grooves; in nearly all of these holes we see the remains of bronze nails.

In the same way, as the engraving denotes, we see on either side of the door three rows of such holes. There can be no doubt that all the bronze nails which we see in the slabs from the fifth course upwards once served for fastening the bronze plates with which the whole interior of the building was decorated. In fact we know from the testimony of ancient authors that the Greeks in remote antiquity ornamented their buildings in this manner, for in no other way can we explain the bronze houses and chambers which they mention. Thus we read in Homer:¹

Ὡστε γὰρ ἡελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἡὲ σελήνης,
Δῶμα καθ' ὑψερεφὲς μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο,
Χάλκεοι μὲν γὰρ τοῖχοι ἐρηρέδατ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
Ἐς μυχὸν ἔξ οὐδοῦ· περὶ δὲ θρυγκὸς κυάνοιο.

Further, the palaces of the immortal gods on Olympus must have been thought to be also ornamented with bronze plates, because Homer says:² Διὸς ποτὶ χαλκοβατὲς δῶ. We also read in Pausanias:³ Ἄλλα δέ ἐστιν Ἀργείοις θέας ἄξια· κατάγειον οἰκοδόμημα, ἐπ' αὐτὸ δὲ ἦν ὁ χαλκοῦς θάλαμος, δν Ἀκρίσιός ποτε φρουρὰν τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐποίησεν.

Thus it is certain that in a remote antiquity polished metal plates were employed to give both splendour and dignity to the houses of the rich. Of the bronze plates which once

¹ *Odyssey*, vii. 84—87.

³ ii. 23.

² *Pl.* i. 426.

decorated the Orchomenian treasury I found a number of fragments, but together with these a good deal of melted bronze spread on the ground, which seems to indicate that the plates were melted by the spoilers in the treasury itself. But the door leading into the *thalamos* was differently ornamented from the walls, nay, the immense number and the variety of the nail-holes all around it seem to testify to its particular splendour, and to the importance of the *thalamos* itself.

The end of the entrance to the *thalamos* was barred by a portion of the slabs of greenish calcareous schist (grünlichem Kalkschiefer) with which the chamber was roofed and which are covered with sculptures. This ceiling seems to have fallen in only about eleven years ago under the pressure of the superincumbent weight, because all the villagers agree that at that time the earth suddenly gave way with a great noise precisely on the spot above the *thalamos*, and a deep hole was then formed. Owing to the winter rains and the cold which had set in, I could not remove the enormous mass of earth which covered the *thalamos* during the first period of my excavations, and was thus forced to delay the work until March 1881, when I accomplished it in company with Professor A. H. Sayce from Oxford, the director-general of antiquities in Greece, Mr. Panagiotes Eustratiades from Athens, and my wife. I made the excavation above the *thalamos* on an average 50 feet long and 40 feet broad; but this excavation proved to be too large, for on the north side I brought to light the rock at a depth of 21 feet and for a space 30 feet long, 24 feet broad. On the south side the excavation was 14 feet deep, 20 broad, and 27 long. Here I brought to light the whole of the *thalamos*, and could minutely examine its architecture. The chamber is cut out in the calcareous rock on the north, east, and south sides, and this is also partly the case on the west side, which faces the treasury. On the north side the rock vertically cut rises 6 feet, on the east side 3 feet, and on the south side 1 foot 11 inches above the slabs which roofed the *thalamos*. On the north, east, and south sides, as well as on the west side, to the right and left of the entrance a wall of large and small stones joined with earth had been erected all along the rock-cut walls of the *thalamos*; this wall is 4 feet 10½ inches thick on the north, 4 feet 8 inches on the east side, and 4 feet 4 inches on the south and west sides. The *thalamos*

within these walls is 12 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, west to east, and 9 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, north to south. The floor of the *thalamos* consists of the levelled and smoothed rock, and is on the same level as the floor of the treasury. At a height of 8 feet above the floor of the *thalamos* the four slabs of greenish calcareous schist of which the ceiling was composed were laid across in the direction north to south. I have been able to measure only the second slab after entering by the door, which is 15 feet 2 inches long, but it is most probable that all have the same length, in which case they would overlap the stone wall by about 3 feet, as well on the north as on the south side. But to render them still more secure the north and south ends of the slabs were covered to a height of 6 feet with large stones joined with earth in the shape of a wall. On entering by the door the first block is 9 inches thick and 2 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad; the second 1 foot $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick, 4 feet broad; the third slab has the enormous thickness of 1 foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches and 3 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad; the fourth is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, 4 feet 2 inches broad. The third slab has a ledge and overlaps the fourth slab by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in the middle, but the ledge gradually diminishes to $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch at the ends. These four slabs have on the lower side, which constituted the ceiling of the *thalamos*, a splendidly sculptured ornamentation, representing first a border of small squares, followed by a border of large rosettes, each of which is five inches in diameter, and has sixteen treble flower leaves; I have observed, however, three rosettes with only twelve leaves, and there may be some more of the same numbers, for the slabs having fallen into the *thalamos*, it is impossible to look over all the rosettes carefully. This border of rosettes is followed throughout the length of the *thalamos*, on the west as well as on the east side, by rows of six beautiful spirals, on the north by four rows of the same spirals, and by the same number on the south side; then follows, in the centre, a square containing all round it a border of two rows of rosettes of the same size as before, and within it twenty-four spirals. All the spirals are interwoven with two palm leaves, between which a long bud shoots forth, all the remaining available space between the two palm leaves being filled with palmettes with fourfold leaves. To enhance the beauty of the decoration the ancient Orchomenian artist has placed these palmettes opposite each

other. Professor Sayce calls my attention to the great resemblance of these palmettes to sphinx-tails. I represent here on Plate XII. the whole ceiling in $\frac{1}{4}$ size, and on Plate XIII. part of it in $\frac{1}{8}$ size. If none of the architectonic forms of this ceiling are unknown to us, and if, for instance, we find the same sort of spiral both at Troy¹ and at Mycenae,² and the palmettes frequently at the latter place,³ their composition nevertheless is perfectly new. Professor E. Ziller remarks to me that, as weaving must necessarily have preceded sculpture, this ornamentation must have been the motive of a carpet, from which it was copied on the ceiling. Professor Brugsch Pasha observes to me that the spiral ornamentation is frequent in Egyptian tombs of the fourth dynasty. Professor Sayce observes to me that rosettes are originally Babylonian, and passed over into Phœnician art, which they characterise.

In fact, we find them everywhere on vases of what is called Phœnico-Hellenic art; also on the truncated triangular bronze plate found at Olympia, which is divided into four compartments; in the lowest of which stands the winged Asiatic goddess who is Nana at Babylon, Istar in Assyria, Ashtoreth (turned into Astarté by the Greeks) in Phœnicia, Cybele in Lydia, the Ephesian Artemis of the Greeks. In the second compartment come Heracles and the Centaurs; in the third, griffons facing each other; in the fourth, three eagles; while rosettes, of which one of bronze was found with the plate, seem to have been put in to fill up the spaces in the different compartments.

Rosettes are frequent on Trojan and Mycænan⁴ jewellery, nay, I found in the Trojan treasures a number of gold earrings, each of which is decorated with twenty-eight rosettes. But this beautiful ceiling was not the only ornamentation of the *thalamos*, for its four walls were lined with slabs of marble nearly three inches thick, which are decorated below with a border of rosettes of the same size as those on the ceiling. Doubtless this border lined below and at the top the four sides of each wall, all the remaining space being occupied with spirals. There are only a few remains of this wall-lining with rosettes and spirals still in

¹ See my *Ilios*, Nos. 836—838.

471.

² See my *Mycenae*, Nos. 140, 153, 472, 476.

⁴ See *Ilios*, Nos. 842, 843, 885, 873, 907, 920, 903; and *Mycenae*, Nos. 281, 283, 284, 285, 337, 344, 354, etc.

³ See my *Mycenae*, Nos. 151, 470,

situ, which appear to have been exposed to a great fire, in consequence of which they are more or less decomposed by damp, but still the ornamentation of spirals and rosettes is conspicuous on them. As before mentioned, I found in the treasury several plates of decomposed marble (one of them 2 feet 4 inches long, 1 foot 8 inches broad), with a spiral decoration, which most undoubtedly belong to the wall-lining of the *thalamos*, but no detached fragments of it were found in the chamber itself. Professor Sayce calls my attention to the fact that the lining of walls with sculptured slabs is an Assyrian fashion, which is found in the palaces of the Assyrian kings. May not this *thalamos* still have been in a good state of preservation at the time of Pausanias, and may it not have inspired him with such admiration that he speaks of the Minyeian treasury as one of the greatest marvels of his time? I expected to find in the *thalamos* a sarcophagus, or at least marks and indices of its having been a tomb, but I was disappointed, for I found there nothing but black earth and not even a potsherd; a broken tile and a round piece of terra cotta with two holes were all the chamber contained.

It deserves attention that the pedestals in the great hall of the treasury were all found standing on the smoothed rock which forms its floor, whilst most of the cornices and square slabs, which must have belonged to the sanctuary or some other monument that once stood in the great hall, were generally separated from the floor by an intervening layer of wood-ashes of from one to four inches thick. Besides, the pedestals as well as all the cornices and well polished square blocks present most evident marks of having been exposed to a great fire, and the monument to which the latter belonged must have been destroyed by the fire, as otherwise the slabs could not have fallen on a layer of wood-ashes, whereas the pedestals stand on the rock.

Professor Sayce suggests that the Goths, who were Christians and altogether illiterate, and came in 396 A.D. under Alaric to Greece, may have heaped up in the treasury in and about the sanctuary, into whose construction wood had entered largely, all the wooden idols they found in Orchomenus and its neighbourhood, and then set fire to the monument. But to this I have to object that even if the whole treasury had been filled with wood

to its very top stone, the wood-ashes could not possibly have produced a solid layer of ashes of more than three feet in thickness, and would probably have been much less thick, whereas, as afore-mentioned, the wood-ashes and other burned material in the treasury had a depth of twelve feet. Visitors may ascertain this fact from the burned material which sticks between the blocks of the treasury walls up to that height. But, strange to say, these blocks nowhere present any trace of having been exposed to the fire. In the *thalamos*, on the contrary, I found not the slightest trace either of wood-ashes or other burned material, but nevertheless the wall-lining, as well as the four large sculptured slabs of greenish calcareous schist which roofed the chamber, present the most unmistakable marks of the great heat to which they have been exposed; nay, traces of fire may even be seen in the fractures of the slabs, and it is, therefore, evident that they had been somewhat weakened and softened by the effect of fire, so as ultimately to break down under the superincumbent weight of the *débris* which had been pressing upon them for a long number of centuries. In fact, had it not been for the effect of the fire, these thick slabs could never have split. I remind the reader that the two middle slabs have the enormous thickness of 1 foot $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches and 1 foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. If I am led to believe that the layer of wood-ashes and other burned material, 12 feet deep, in the great hall of the treasury, can only be explained by a succession of fires, probably sacrificial fires continued for years, I find no explanation of the fact that no trace of smoke or heat is visible on the marble blocks of which the treasury is built. But still much more inexplicable is it to me that the slabs lining the walls as well as the ceiling-blocks of the *thalamos* should show marks of a great fire, although the chamber only contains black earth and no trace of ashes or other burned material. Professor Sayce's theory that the entrance to the *thalamos* being open, and the chamber empty, its ornamented slabs could have suffered from the fire in the great hall of the treasury, seems to me to be inadmissible, the entrance to the *thalamos* being 9 feet 4 inches long, and only 5 feet broad; besides, this entrance was, to one half of its height, filled with the same kind of black earth as the *thalamos*, and contained no trace of burned material.

Wonderful to say, the marks of fire are not limited to the

thalamos, for they can also be seen far above it. As above stated, the *thalamos* is on its north-east and south sides, and partly on its west side, cut out in the rock, but it is very curious that although the vertically cut sides of the rock reach far above the slabs which roofed the chamber, we find the rock succeeded by perpendicular clay walls, precisely as if there had been above the *thalamos* a second story to which its roof served as floor. Now all these clay walls, whose remains visitors will see rising above the rock-cut walls, on the north side for six feet, on the east side for three feet, and on the south side for two feet, bear most evident signs of having been exposed to a very great heat, which has penetrated far into the clay and baked it. In the north-east corner above the *thalamos* we see built vertically above the rock wall, and on the same line with the burnt clay wall, a wall of crude brick, 5 feet 8 inches thick, which rises to within 2 feet of the surface, and which shows no trace of fire. This wall is another great puzzle to me. The only possible explanation seems to me that the roof of the *thalamos* was originally intended to stand free and to have no superincumbent weight, and that, to effect this, a second story stood above it, whose walls consisted of the vertically cut rock and the clay walls which were baked to give them greater solidity; further, that the door opening into this second story was in the north-east corner, and that it was in much later times walled up with crude bricks in order to level and consolidate the soil. I may add that the quality of the rubbish on the second floor of the *thalamos*, as well as the objects found there, seem certainly to corroborate my theory. In fact, the accumulation consisted principally, nay almost entirely, of black earth, which appears to have been washed down by the winter rains from the much higher plateau of the ancient city; the more so as it contained a most diversified mixture of fragments of prehistoric and of Hellenic pottery and even of potsherds of the middle ages. Of more interesting objects found there I mention the fragment of a silver vase and a couple of stone axes; but I suppose that these have also been washed down from the higher plateau. But this would only explain the baked wall above the *thalamos*, and not at all the fire by which the sculptured roof suffered, for as the marks of fire on the sculptures show, there was also a fire *within* the *thalamos*.

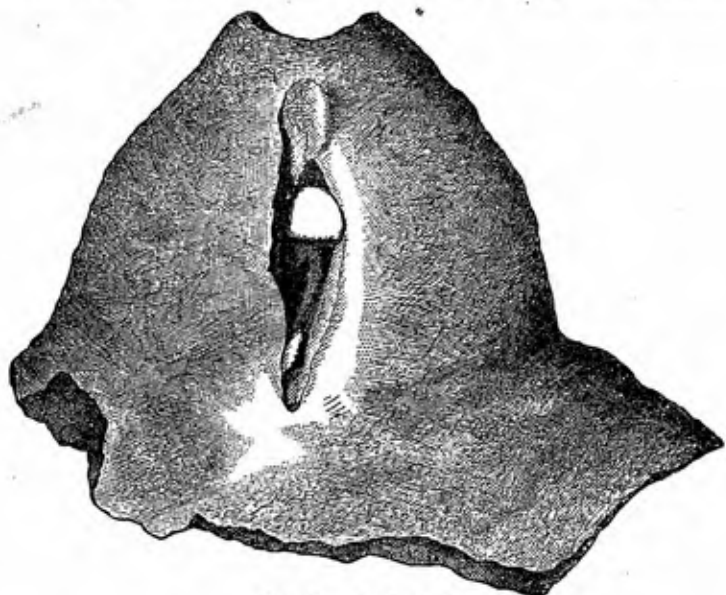
Besides this excavation I also explored the whole site of the ancient city on the Hypantheion, which is strewn with fragments of ancient terra-cottas, among which glazed red and black bricks predominate; we have, unfortunately, as yet no standard for determining even only approximately the age of these curious bricks, but as they occur in such large masses, I suppose they are not earlier than the Macedonian period, and perhaps even later. Among the pottery with which the site of ancient Orchomenus is strewn, the wheel-made, varnished, uniform red predominates, which can also, in my opinion, not be anterior to the Macedonian time. But there also occur a good many fragments of archaic painted pottery, as well as of monochrome hand-made black or yellow pottery, which is centuries older.

My attempts to find more treasures have been in vain; in two of my shafts sunk for that purpose I struck the rock at a depth of 9 feet; in others I only reached it at a depth of from 16 to 18 feet, this latter depth being the greatest I found in the *débris* on the Hypantheion. I also excavated a trench 5 feet broad, 110 feet long, on the north side of the Hypantheion (see Map) in a place where a small elevation of the soil seemed to indicate a tomb. I struck there, on the edge of the rock, at a depth of 16 feet, a wall of unwrought stones joined with earth, 5 feet 10 inches thick, which Professor Sayce holds to be the ancient Minyeon city wall. I found in this trench many skeletons of men, but so badly preserved that all the skulls crumbled away when being taken out. I also found there frequent layers of burned material. It is very remarkable that at Orchomenus painted pottery, with spirals and other Mycenaean ornamentation, also cows with two long horns and the same variegated colours as at Mycenae, as well as goblets of the very same form and colour as at Mycenae,¹ are generally only found down to a depth of about six feet below the surface of the ground, and that at a greater depth, monochrome, black, red, or yellow, hand-made or wheel-made pottery is found almost exclusively, analogous to some of that collected by me in the royal sepulchres at Mycenae. Very frequent here are the large hand-made black goblets or bowls, with a hollow foot and horizontal flutings in the middle, which I also found at Mycenae;² also fragments of

¹ See my *Mycenae*, Coloured Plate A, fig. *a* and *b*, and Nos. 84, 88.

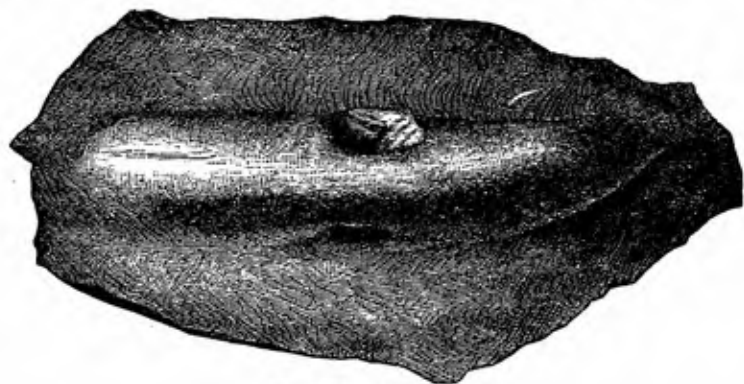
² See my *Mycenae*, No. 230.

vases having a perpendicular excrescence with a *vertical* perforation for suspension on either side, like Fig. II.; also fragments



No. II.—Scale 2 : 3.

of vases having on each side a horizontal excrescence with a *vertical* hole, like No. III. But most fragments belong to vases



No. III.—Scale 2 : 3.

having on each side excrescences with a *horizontal* tubular hole for suspension, like Figs. IV., V., and VI. There also

frequently occur fragments of vases which are characterised by their small handles, like Fig. VII., and others by their long and slender handles like the pottery of the sixth city at Troy,¹ like Fig. VIII. There also occur vases with a gutter in the rim, like IX. All this pottery is either hand-made or wheel-made, and is sometimes black, in which case it has the natural colour of the clay, sometimes red or yellow, in which case it is generally slightly varnished.

Tripods of baked clay certainly existed in ancient Orchomenos, but they were not abundant, for I found only a few feet belonging to them. Rare, also, are vases with excrescences in the form of female breasts. In general the prehistoric monochrome Orchomenian vases are but very slightly baked, in fact, most of them are baked hardly to one-eighth of the thickness of the clay, but nevertheless they have the appearance of great solidity, which is the more astonishing as the clay shows but a very small admixture of crushed granite or siliceous stone. Strange to say, even the large jars (*πίθοι*) of Orchomenus are baked to less than half the thickness of the clay. This fact seems to prove more than anything else that the clay here is most excellent; were it not so these large jars would break by their own ponderous weight.

I had sometimes found here and there outside the royal Mycenaean tombs fragments of a *glazed* blue, green, yellow, or red, wheel-made pottery very much resembling in fabric the present Turkish pottery, and I could not, therefore, believe it to be ancient. But as I now find this same *glazed* pottery at Orchomenus on the rock in the treasury, and in the lowest strata in my shafts and trenches on the Hypantheion, I do not hesitate to proclaim that this sort of *glazed* pottery must have been in use in Greece at a remote prehistoric period, but the secret of its manufacture must have been subsequently lost, because it is not found in the layers of *débris* of the historic times. The vase-bottoms of this glazed pottery have usually the form of the ancient Hellenic vase-bottoms, which is never the case with Turkish pottery. Sometimes we see on this pottery rude designs, which strike the eye by their curious forms.

Of other objects found by me in my shafts and trenches on the Hypantheion I may mention stone implements, such as

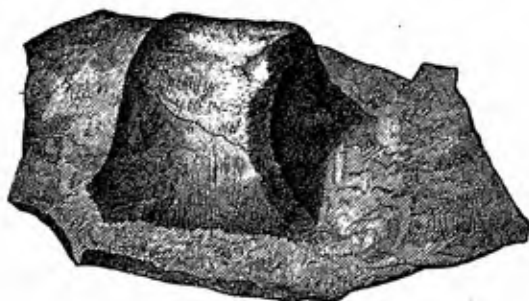
¹ See my *Ilios*, No. 1381.

some axes of diorite, a large number of spherical corn-bruizers of granite or basalt, some pestles of diorite or granite, a few hammers of diorite, a number of whorls of steatite or clay, and



No. IV.—*Actual size.*

some knives of obsidian. Of metal hardly anything at all was found there; only a few iron nails in the upper strata. Of bone I found in the large trench on Hypantheion a curious object, in



No. V.—*Scale 2 : 3.*

the form of a crescent, with two pointed ends standing $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches apart.

Farther up Hypantheion are two low hillocks; a little more west, at about thirty yards beyond the western wall of

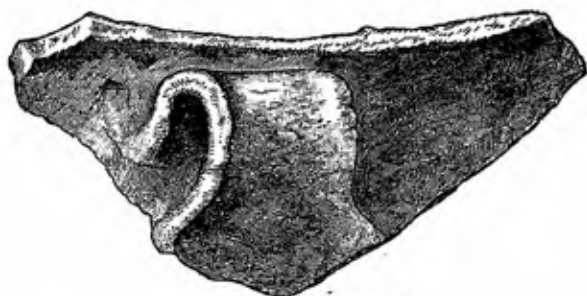
ancient Orchomenus, is another somewhat higher hillock, and about 120 yards still higher up there are two more small hillocks. All these hillocks are marked on the Map. I have explored all of them, but without success, for the two first I found to consist of the remnants of a building of the middle ages. Through the higher hillock I ran an open trench 4 feet 10 inches broad, 30 feet long, and 8 to 9 feet deep. I found here only glazed black and red tiles and a bead of blue glass. On the south side of this trench I struck a wall 6 feet 3 inches high, and 3 feet 4 inches broad, consisting of large wrought stones, whose outside is left rough. On this wall seems to have been lying a large wrought block which I found, the smooth side undermost, at a distance of 8 feet from it. This wall, which appears to be of the Macedonian time, runs from west to east and joins at right angles the western wall of ancient Orchomenus, which may still be traced across the hill from south to west, and which I excavated on the north side to the rock on which it rests (see Map). In the two small hillocks farther west, I found nothing but some fragments of glazed very archaic black Hellenic pottery.

To Pausanias¹ were shown at Orchomenus the tombs of Minyas and Hesiod, which may perhaps be marked by the two afore-mentioned conical hillocks called *Magula*; but these being planted with vines, I could not obtain from the proprietors permission to explore them. The Periegetes further saw here a remarkable fountain, to which there was a descent.² I should not hesitate to identify this fountain with the natural spring of beautiful water at the northern foot of Hypantheion, about 200 yards beyond the treasury, because there are traces of a flight of steps in the rock leading down to it, but as Pausanias employs here the word *κρήνη*, which he constantly uses for an artificial conduit from a natural source in opposition to *πηγή*, a natural spring, this fountain must needs be sought elsewhere. Pausanias³ also saw here a temple of Dionysus, of which there is no trace left; further a bronze figure bound by a chain of iron to a rock. It was supposed to represent a spectre, by which the rock had been haunted, and which the oracle of Delphi, on being consulted, had declared to be the ghost of Actaeon. By the advice of the oracle the remains of Actaeon were buried and the statue was made which Pausanias saw. The latter leaves

¹ ix. 38.² *Idem*.³ *Idem*.

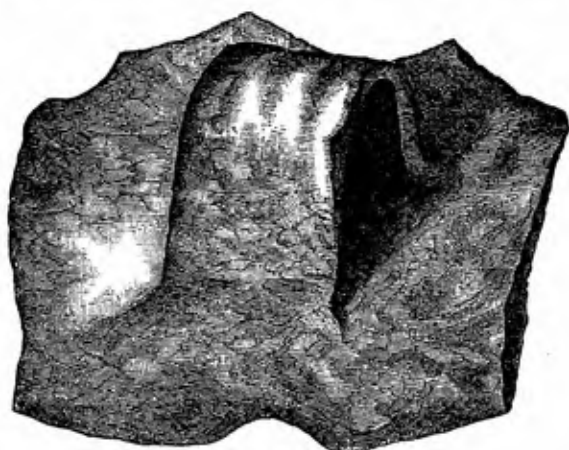
us in doubt as to the particular rock to which it was attached.

Professor Sayce calls my attention to the name Orchomenus, which is only used in the singular, implying that there was only one



No. VI.—Scale 2 : 3.

city, which was an acropolis and a town together; the original Orchomenians having been driven out by the Greeks, there never were two settlements. Where, on the contrary, a Greek city has



No. VII.—Scale 2 : 3.

a plural name there were two settlements, as, for instance, the Cadmeian Thebes, where the upper city, the Cadmeia, was Phoenician, the lower Greek. This may, as Sayce suggests, also explain why only *Ἰπποθῆβαι* took part in the Trojan war.

So Ἀθήναι, of which E. Curtius has tried to show that the lower city was Phoenician. So Megara is the Phoenician word Magur, to which the Greeks gave their own plural form. This seems to be corroborated by part of Carthage being called Magaria, Latinized into Magalia by Vergil, for so he calls the houses in Carthage. The same is probably the case also with other Greek cities, like Μυκῆναι, which are used in the plural.

I give here in cursive writing an exact copy of an inscription which is put up in the outer wall of the church of the monastery. It is very remarkable, as it is coeval with the walls of the building, which is dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul, and indicates that it was built in the year 6382 after the creation of the world, i.e. in 874 A.D., by Leo, who held the dignity of Protospatharius under the emperors Basil I., Leo VI., and Constantine VII. :—

Ἐκαληέργησεν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου
Λέον ὁ πανεύφimos βασιληκὸς Προτοσπαθᾶριος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν
ὑκιακῶν, ὑπὲρ λύτρου καὶ ἀφέσεως τῶν πολλῶν αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτηῶν,
ἔτους ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἑξακισχληλιστῷ τριακοσηστῷ ὀγδοη-
κοστῷ B.

Another inscription in the outer wall of the church indicates the same personage as builder of that sanctuary; it reads as follows :—

Ἐκαληέργησεν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πέτρου τοῦ κορυφείου τῶν
ἀποστόλων Λέον ὁ πανεύφimos βασιληκὸς Προτοσπαθᾶρης
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑκηκῶν, ὑπὲρ λύτρου καὶ ἀφέσεως τῶν πολλῶν
αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτηῶν ἐπὶ Ἱγνατίου τοῦ ὑκουμενηκοῦ πατρὸς ἁρχου.
Ἀμήν.

The following inscription, which likewise indicates the Protospatharius Leo as builder of the church, may be seen on the external wall of a chapel which adjoins the church :—

Ἐπὶ Βασιλείου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λέωντος τῶν θωπιάτων
βασιλέων τῶν Ῥωμένων. Παναγῆα θεοῦ σὺν τῷ μονωγενῇ
σου ἱψὺ βοήθει τοῦ σοῦ δούλου Λέωντος βασιληκοῦ Προτοσπα-
θαρίου, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκηκῶν σὺν τῇ συνεύρῃ καὶ τῆς φιλάτου
τέκνῃ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ ἐκ πόθου καὶ πῆστεως μεγίστης ἀναστίσαντος
τὸν σὸν ἅγιον ναόν. Ἀμήν.

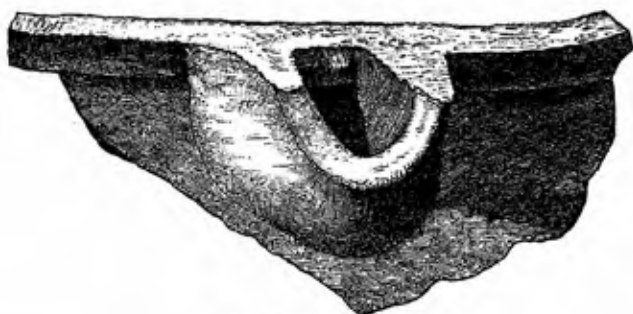
Although these three inscriptions have been published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, I nevertheless give them here as they are very important, for two reasons: first, because they

show us what little attention was paid to orthography at the barbarous period when the church was built; and secondly, because they prove to us that already a thousand years ago



No. VIII.—Scale 2 : 3.

Greek was pronounced precisely as it is now in Greece, *αι* being rendered by *ε*, *ι* by *η* and *η* by *ι*, *οι* by *υ*, *ο* by *ω* and *ω* by *ο*, *υι* by *ιυ*, *ει* by *η* as well as by *ι*. I further call attention to



No. IX.—Scale 2 : 3.

the words '*βοήθι* (instead of *βοήθει*) *τοῦ σοῦ δούλου*,' which prove that the corrupt use of the genitive instead of the dative in modern Greek, was already introduced into the Greek

spoken a thousand years ago. But that even at that time there were men who cultivated letters and admired Homer, is evident from another inscription, written in Homeric hexameters, in honour of the same Protospatharius Leon, who is indicated in the three foregoing inscriptions as builder of the church. It is on a marble slab put up in a pillar of masonry behind the church: I give it here also in cursive writing:—

Οὐ φθόνος οὐδὲ χρόνος περιμήκετος ἔργα καλύψει
 Σῶν καμάτων, πανάριστε, βυθῷ πολυχανδέϊ λήθης,
 Ἔργα ἐπεὶ βοόωσι καὶ οὐ λαλέοντά περ ἔμπης,
 Καὶ τόδε γὰρ τέμενος παναοίδιμον ἐξετέλεσας,
 Μητρὸς ἀπειρογάμου, θεοδέγμονος ἱφιανάσσης,
 Τερπνὸν ἀποστίλβον περικαλλέα πάντοθεν αἴγλην.
 Χριστοῦ δ' ἐκατέρωθεν ἀποστόλῳ ἕστατον ἄμφω,
 Ὡν Ῥώμης βῶλαξ ἱερὴν κόνιν ἀμφικαλύπτει.
 Ζώοις ἐν θαλίῃσι χρόνων ἐπ' ἀπείρονα κύκλα,
 Ὡ πολύναινε Λέον Πρωτοσπαθάριε μέγιστε,
 Γηθόμενος κτεάτεσσι καὶ ἐν τεκέεσσιν ἀρίστοις
 Χῶρον ἐπικρατέων τε παλαιφάτου Ὀρχομένουιο.

Ancient inscriptions abound on marble slabs built into the external and internal walls of the church, and in the walls around or close by; they are all—with only one or two exceptions, in the Boeoto-Aeolic dialect, which employed the digamma, and they are consequently important to philology. But I see that all have already been published. It deserves attention that in all the inscriptions in which the digamma is employed, Orchomenus is called Ἐρχόμενος. This orthography proves to us that the coins which have on a Boeotian shield, an ear of wheat, and a garland of olive, with the legend EPXO, EPX, EP, or only E, belonged to Orchomenus. On a fragment of a black glazed vase, said to have been found near the monastery, is the inscription

ΜΟΙΓΕΝΟΙ

probably of the Macedonian time.

In company with Professor Sayce, I visited the ancient city of Copae, situated on the very small island of Gla, close to the

northern shore of the lake of Copais, at a distance of only sixteen miles from Orchomenus, and joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus. But as the road goes for the most part across the rocks, and is exceedingly bad and full of stones, it took us not less than five hours to go thither on horseback. We passed by the village of Xeropyrgo, situated on the heights which bound the marshes. In an air-line, the latter is only three miles east-north-east from Orchomenus, but by the circuitous route to be followed on horseback, it is more than eight miles.

It is, no doubt, identical with Tegyra, of which Plutarch¹ says that it stood not far from Orchomenus, above the marshes of the Melas, and that the two cities were joined by a road, which led through a pass formed by these marshes. Copae is marked by the village of Topolia, which is nearly as filthy as Thebes, but the polished marble slabs and fragments of sculpture which we see here and there in the walls of the wretched houses, testify to the splendour and opulency of the ancient town. From the holes which have been dug here and there, I saw that the accumulation of ancient *débris* is considerable, and exceeds in some places twelve feet; this is the more remarkable as the little isle consists of a rock fifty feet high, which slopes on all sides under an angle of about 60° to the lake of Copais. On a marble slab in an excavation at our halting place, I copied the following mutilated inscription, which is evidently of the Middle Ages, and proves that at the time it was written, there was still a town called Copae:—

...ΠΟΛΙΣΚΩΠΑΙΩ[N...]
 ...ΕΑΝΤΗΣΩΤΗ[ΡΑ...]
 ...ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ...

On another slab and also of the Middle Ages:—

ΛΥΣΩΝ
 ΧΑΙΡΕ

On a marble slab in the external wall of a small abandoned church, we see in low relief a warrior seated on a horse, which is running at full speed, so that his *himation* is flying in the wind; his head-cover is a cap with a broad screen; while his

¹ *Life of Pelopidas.*

body is covered from neck to loins with a large shield. Above the sculpture we see the inscription:—

**ΕΠΙΣΩΤΗΡΙΔΑ
ΗΡΩΙ**

which seems to be of the Roman time.

In the same old church there is a square marble column with the inscription:—

ΟΜΟΛΩΙΧΟΣ

In the external wall of the new church at Topolia there are three long inscriptions, but one is illegible. Copae has given its name to the lake of Copais. This is confirmed by Strabo,¹ who, having spoken of Copae, says: 'In ancient times there was no common name for the lake, but it was called by the name of each city situated on its banks; thus Copais from Copae, Haliartis from Haliartus, and it had other names from other cities; in later times the predominating name, Copais, was applied to the whole lake, for the region of Copae forms the greatest gulf.' The inhabitants of Topolia procure from the lake numerous eels, which were already in antiquity renowned² for their bulk and fatness, and which Pausanias commends from his own experience.³

I finally call attention to an excavation, made by Mrs. Schliemann, close to the monastery of Skripu and on its south side, in which she found half a dozen Byzantine tombs, and below these some others, apparently more ancient, which may be of the Roman time, as Roman pottery was found with them; but all the tombs, upper as well as lower, were of the same rude workmanship, for they consisted of two rudely wrought slabs on which the body was extended, and a third by which it was covered.

Travellers will see in Skripu on the road-side, about 120 yards south of the monastery, a Roman ruin, apparently of a bath.

In a high antiquity there must have been a good road from Lebadeia to Orchomenus, as otherwise it would have been impossible to transport across the swampy plain all the marbles

¹ ix. p. 411.

Poll. i. 6.

² Aristophanes, *Acharn.* v. 880; also Arcestrat. apud Athen. i. 7, 13:

³ ix. 24: αἱ δὲ ἐγγέλεις αὐτόθι καὶ μεγέθει μέγισται καὶ ἰσθίειν εἰσὶν ἡδίσται.

of which the treasury is composed, and which, as already mentioned, have been cut in the marble quarry at Lebadeia.

The very excellent drawings of the ceiling of the *thalamos*, Plates XII. and XIII., as well as a plan of the treasury, and drawings of the *thalamos* door and the thresholds, were made by the distinguished German architects, Messrs. W. Dörpfeld, Richard Borrmann, and F. Graeber, to whom I here tender my hearty thanks.

HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN.

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE OLYMPIAN REGISTER.¹

THERE seems a sort of general agreement among modern historians of Greece to accept the 1st Olympiad (776 B.C.) as the trustworthy starting point of solid Greek chronology. Even Grote, so sceptical about legends, and so slow to gather inferences from them, accepts this datum. There is only one exception, I think, to be found in Sir George Cox, who evidently rejects the Olympiad register, who will not set down in his chronology any figure higher than 670 B.C., and even that under the protest of a query.

When we come to inquire on what authority so early a date can be securely established, we find a sort of assumption, not supported by argument, that from 776 onward the Eleians kept a regular record of their great festival, and as a matter of fact such a record is extant. It was generally acknowledged and cited by the later historians of Greece, who determined events according to it. Above all, the critical doubts of philologists are soothed by the supposed authority of Aristotle, who is reported to have made researches on the question, and to refer to the list as if authentic; he even mentioned a discus at Olympia with *Lycurgus'* name inscribed upon it, but in what work, and for what purpose, is unknown. I know that Aristotle is considered an infallible authority by modern philologists, so much so that those who are ready enough to deny even general inspiration to other authorities, seem almost to attribute verbal inspiration to this philosopher. One other Greek authority shares with him this pre-eminence—the historian Thucydides. And it so happens

¹ I must acknowledge some valuable hints and corrections from Dr. Hirschfeld of Königsberg, and Dr. Th. Kock

of Berlin; both of whom agree with my main results.

that in his Sicilian *Archæology* (book vi.) Thucydides gives a number of dates, with precision and without hesitation, which reach back to 735 B.C., and therefore persuades his commentators that accurate dates were attainable up to a period close to the 1st Olympiad. These are apparently the silent reasons which have determined the general consent of modern historians.

But neither Grote, nor E. Curtius, nor even Sir George Cox have analysed the evidence for the authenticity of the older portion of this register. I cannot find in Clinton's *Fasti*, where it might well be expected, any such inquiry. In Mure's *Greek Literature* (iv. 77-90), a work far less esteemed than it deserves, and here only, do we find even a fair statement of the evidence. The negative conclusions reached by Mure have made no impression on the learned world, and are now well nigh forgotten. It is the object of this paper to take up the question where he left it, and to add some positive evidence to corroborate his argument—that the list of victors at Olympiads handed down to us by Eusebius is, at least in its earlier part, an artificially constructed list, resting on occasional and fragmentary monumental records, and therefore of no value as a scientific chronology. We will also endeavour to determine when the victors began to be regularly recorded, and when the extant list was manufactured. Such an inquiry must be of great importance in determining the amount of credence to be given to the dates of events referred to in the eighth and first half of the seventh centuries B.C.—for example, Thucydides' dates for the western colonies of the Hellenes.

Let us first sketch the correct tradition about the Register as we find it implied in Diodorus, Strabo, the fragments of Timæus, and other late historians. We fortunately find in Pausanias a very considerable amount of detail, and a sketch of the general history of the feast as then accepted. All admitted, and indeed asserted, a mythical origin for the games. The declarations of Pindar and other old poets were express, that Herakles had founded them, that Pelops and other mythical heroes had won victories at them—and victories of various kinds, including chariot races. Another account ascribed their foundation to Oxylus. But a long gap was admitted between these mythical glories and the revival of the games by Iphitus, king of Elis. 'This Iphitus,' says Pausanias

(v. 4, 5), 'the epigram at Olympia declares to be the son of Haemon, but most of the Greeks to be the son of Praxonides, and not of Haemon; the old documents (*ἀρχαῖα γράμματα*) of the Eleians, however, referred Iphitus to a father of the same name.' Iphitus, in connection with the Spartan Lycurgus, re-established the games, but (as was asserted) only as a contest in the short race (*στάδιον*), and in this first historical Olympiad Coroebus won, as was stated in an epigram on his tomb, situated on the borders of Elis and Arcadia (Paus. viii. 26, 4). The quoit of Iphitus, on which Lycurgus' name was engraved in some inscription, was at Elis in the days of Aristotle. This 'discus of Iphitus,' says Pausanias (v. 20, 1), 'has the truce which the Eleians announce for the Olympiad, not inscribed in straight lines, but the letters run round the discus in a circular form.' He alludes to the list again and again: *ex. gr.* (v. 8, 3) 'ever since there is a continuous record of the Olympiads (*ἐξ οὗ τὸ συνεχὲς ταῖς μνήμας ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὀλ. ἐστὶ*); prizes for running were first established, and the Eleian Coroebus won.'

Pausanias proceeds in this passage to give an account of the successive additions of other competitions to the sprint race, 'according as they remembered them,' that is, according as they recollected or found out that they had been practised in mythical days. In the 14th Ol. the *δίαιλος*, or double course, was instituted, and Hypenus the Pisaeon won, and next after him Acanthus. In the 18th they remembered the pentathlon and the wrestling match, in which Lampis and Eurybatus respectively won, both Lacedaemonians. In the 23rd came boxing, and Onomastus of Smyrna, which then already counted as Ionian, won. In the 25th the first chariot race was won by the Theban Pagondas. In the 28th came the pancration, and the monument of the first victor, Lygdamis, was at Syracuse. . . . The boys' contests were based on no old tradition, but the Eleians established them of their own good pleasure. The boys' wrestling match was accordingly instituted in the 37th Ol. I need not pursue the account further, but will return to the passage in connection with the other arrangements of the feast.

We find that other authorities, such as Polemo, quoted by the Scholiast on Pindar (Ol. v.), agree with Pausanias as to some of these details. Strabo quotes from Ephorus the double

foundation by Oxylyus and again by Iphitus. So does the account of Phlegon, a freedman of Hadrian, who wrote a work on the Olympian festival, and gave a list of victors, probably from the same source as Eusebius' list. Phlegon notes indeed the difficulty of making Lycurgus and Iphitus contemporary with Coroebus in 776 B.C., and fixes the date of Iphitus twenty-eight Olympiads earlier (at 887 B.C.) But he introduces Iphitus again in the 6th registered OL., inquiring about the crowning of victors, and states that Daicles of Messene was first crowned with wild olive at the 7th contest. The only other point of interest in Phlegon's fragments is the full catalogue of the 177th OL. (frag. 12 in Müller's *Frag. Hist.* iv. 606), which gives the winners in seventeen events; some of them thrice successful in the competitions.

We may therefore take it for granted that the account of Pausanias, which now passes current in all the German and English works on Greek athletics, was, in the main, that established or adopted by Timaeus and by Aristotle, the latter of whom seems to have first given the Olympiads their prominent position as the basis of Greek chronology. Whether he adopted it as genuine from the beginning or not, his isolated remark about the quoit of Iphitus is not sufficient to inform us. Indeed we have rather negative evidence concerning his opinion than any positive information.

It is of far more importance to examine what evidence there was for this theory of the gradual rise and progress of the festival, its regularity, and the prominence of the *stadion*, or short race, in giving the name of its victor as the index of the date. We have two kinds of authority to consult—the older literature; and the monuments, either at first hand, or as described for us by former observers. As regards the literature, our review need be but very brief.

(1) The twenty-third book of the *Iliad* seems composed without any reference to the earliest Olympian games as Pausanias describes them. The nature of this perhaps special competition is quite different. There are events, such as the armed combat, which never made part of the historical games; there are others, such as the chariot race, which are expressly asserted to have been later innovations at Olympia. The giving of valuable prizes, and several of them in each competition, is quite against

the practice at Olympia. The Phaeacian games in the *Odyssey* (*θ* 120, *ς* 7) contain *five* events, running, wrestling, leaping, discus, and boxing. Those who believe that the epics were composed before 776 B.C., or those who believe them to be the much later compilation of antiquarian poets, will find no difficulty in this. The one will assert that the poet could not know, and the other that he would not know, what was established at Olympia. The latter will also hold that the accounts of the mythical celebrations by Herakles, Pelops, &c., were invented in imitation of the Homeric account. But still if Lycurgus indeed promoted the knowledge of the Homeric poems, why did he and Iphitus found a contest without the least resemblance to the heroic models? And if, as I hold, the Homeric poems were growing into shape about the time of the 1st Olympiad, and after it, the silence of the *Iliad*, and its contrast to the Olympian festival in its games, are difficult to explain, unless we assume that the old Eleian competition was not a mere sprint race, but a contest similar in its events to that in the *Iliad*, or at least to that in the *Odyssey*.

(2) This view is strongly supported by the statements of Pindar, who is the next important witness on the subject. In his Tenth Olympic Ode (*vv.* 43 *sq.*) he tells of the foundation by Herakles and gives the names of *five* heroes who won the various events of the first contest. And there is no hint that there was any break in the tradition, or that these five events had not remained in fashion ever since. In fact he does mention (*Isth.* i. 26 *sq.*) that the *pentathlon* and *pancratation* were later inventions, thus making it clear that the rest were in his mind the original components of the meeting. Nor does he anywhere give any priority or special dignity to the *stadion*; only the last of his Olympian odes is for this kind of victory, his Thirteenth for the *stadion* and *pentathlon* together. He never mentions, as we should have expected, that these victors would have the special glory of handing down their names as eponymi of the whole feast. The other contests, the chariot race, the pancration, and the pentathlon, were evidently far grander and more highly esteemed, and we find this corroborated by the remark of Thucydides (*v.* 49), 'This was the Olympiad when Androstenes won for the first time the

pancratation.' Thucydides therefore seems to have marked the Olympiad, not by the stadion, but by the pancration.

(3) This historian indeed, as well as his contemporaries, Herodotus and Hellanicus, gives us but little information about the nature of the games, except the remark that 'it was not many years' since the habit of running naked had come into fashion at Olympia. Such a statement cannot be reconciled with Pausanias' account, who placed the innovation three centuries before Thucydides' time. But in one important negative feature all the fifth-century historians agree. None of them recognise any Olympian register, or date their events by reference to this festival. Thucydides, at the opening of his second book, fixes his main date by the year of the priestess of Hera at Argos, by the Spartan ephor, and by the Athenian archon. In his Sicilian *Archæology*, to which we will presently return, where it would have been very convenient to have given dates by Olympiads, he counts all his years from the foundation of Syracuse downward. We know that Hellanicus, Antiochus and others had made chronological researches at that time, and the former treated of the list of the Carneian victors. All these things taken together are conclusive against the existence, or at least the recognition, of the Olympian annals down to 400 B.C.

In the next century Ephorus wrote in his earlier books concerning the mythical foundation of the festival, but we hear nothing from him at all like the history set down by Pausanias. It is nevertheless about this time that the newer and more precise account came into existence, for Aristotle and Timæus, the contemporaries of Ephorus, evidently knew and valued the register. Its origin in literature would have remained a mystery but for a solitary remark of Plutarch. At the opening of his *Life of Numa*, in commenting on the difficulty of fixing early dates, he says: τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἐξακριβᾶσαι χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ὀλυμπιονίκων ἀναγομένους, ὧν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὀψέ φασιν Ἰππίαν ἐκδοῦναι τὸν Ἡλεῖον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ὁρμώμενον ἀναγκαίου πρὸς πίστιν.

What does this mean? Does it mean that Hippias first published or edited in a literary form the register, or does it mean that he both compiled and edited it? The former is the implied opinion of the learned. 'Dieser Zeit,' says E. Curtius,

Hist. I. 494 (viz. 'die Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts'), 'gehören ja auch die Listen derer an, welche in den Nationalspielen gesiegt'; and in the note on this at the end of the volume, he indicates, together with the ἀναγραφαί of the Argive priestesses, which Hellanicus published, two references to Pausanias, and adds: 'wissenschaftlich bearbeitet zuerst von Hippias dem Eleer, dann von Philochorus in seinen Ὀλυμπιάδες.' Now of the latter work we know nothing more than the name; of the former nothing but the passage just cited from Plutarch. Does it justify Ernst Curtius' *wissenschaftlich bearbeitet*? Or does our other knowledge of Hippias justify it? The picture of him drawn in the Platonic dialogues called after his name, and in Philostratus, though perhaps exaggerated, makes him a vain but clever polymath, able to practise all trades, and exhibit in all kinds of knowledge. But we do not expect anything 'wissenschaftlich' from him. Indeed, in this case there was room for either a great deal of science, or for none. If there was really an authentic list at Olympia, Hippias need only have copied it. But is this consistent with Plutarch's statement? Far from it. Plutarch implies a task of difficulty, requiring research and judgment. And this, no doubt, was what the Sophist wanted to supply. Being an Eleian, and desirous to make himself popular in the city, he not only chose Olympia for special displays of various kinds, but brought together for the people a history of their famous games. And in doing this he seems to have shown all the vanity, the contempt of ancient traditions, and the rash theorizing which we might expect from a man of his class. We have too, fortunately, a single case quoted by Pausanias which shows us both that this estimate of the man is not far from the truth, and what licence the Eleians gave him when he was reconstructing the history of the festival. Pausanias (v. 24, 2 sqq.) tells a pathetic story about the loss of a choir of boys and their teacher on the way from Messana in Sicily to Olympia, where they were commemorated by statues. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐπίγραμμα ἐδήλου τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀναθήματα εἶναι τῶν ἐν πορθμῷ Μεσσηνίων χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἰππίας ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων γενέσθαι σοφὸς τὰ ἐλεγεία ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐποίησεν. Here, then, we have some kind of falsification, and apparently one in favour of the Messenians of the Morea, if we may judge from the form of Pausanias' remark. In more than one case this sort of thing

appears to have been allowed, and I think we can show in Hippias a decided leaning to the Messenians, whose restoration to independence he probably witnessed.

But were there really no registers, ἀναγραφαί, from which Hippias could have copied? If there was certainly no single complete list, of undoubted authority, may there not have been partial lists, affording him suitable materials? This we must endeavour to answer from the passages of Pausanias referred to by E. Curtius, as well as from others, which he has not thought it necessary to quote.

The first is the opening passage of the sixth book, where the author says that as his work 'is not a catalogue of all the athletes who have gained victories at Olympia, but an account of votive offerings, and especially statues, he will omit many who have gained victories, either by some lucky chance, or without attaining the honour of a statue.' Though this passage may imply that there was such a catalogue—of course there was in Pausanias' day—it says not a word about an old and authentic register. It is indeed a capital fact in the present discussion, that neither does Pausanias, in this elaborate account of Olympia, nor, as far as I know, does any other Greek author, distinctly mention ἀναγραφαί, or παραπήγματα, or any equivalent term for any official register at Olympia. Pausanias speaks of τὰ τῶν Ἑλλέων γράμματα, and also says of certain an-Olympiads: ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλ. καταλόγῳ οὐ γράφουσιν—not that they were erased, or noted in any official register. In Pausanias the absence of such mention appears to me decisive.

Let us pass to the second passage indicated by E. Curtius, viz. vi. 6, 3. 'There stands there also the statue of Lastratidas, an Eleian boy, who won the crown for wrestling; he obtained also in Nemea among the boys, and among youths (ἐν τε παισὶ καὶ ἀγνεύων) another victory.' Pausanias adds: that Paraballos, the father of Lastratidas, won in the δίαυλος, ὑπελείπετο δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα φιλοτιμία, τῶν νικησάντων Ὀλυμπίασι τὰ ὀνόματα ἀναγράφαι ἐν γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. Here, at last, we have some definite evidence, and I will add at once another passage—the only other passage I can find where any register is alluded to—as it expounds the former. In vi. 8, 1, we find: Euanorides the Eleian gained the victory for wrestling

both at Olympia and Nemea: *γενόμενος δὲ Ἑλληνοδίκης ἔγραψε καὶ οὗτος τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῶν νενικηκότων*. It appears then that if an Eleian had distinguished himself at the games, he was likely to be afterwards chosen as one of the judges—a reasonable custom, even now prevailing amongst us. It also appears that such *ἑλληνοδίκαι* had the right of celebrating their year of office by inscribing the names of the victors, and doubtless their own, in the gymnasium.

But fortunately, the date of these inscriptions is fixed by two facts. In the first place both came after the establishing of boys' contests, which Pausanias expressly calls an invention of the Eleians, and fixes at the 37th Olympiad. Again the son of Paraballon, and Euanorides himself, won prizes at Nemea—a contest not established, according to E. Curtius, till about 570 B.C., but to my mind a little earlier, and near to 600 B.C. I do not for a moment deny the existence of some kind of register from this time onward; in fact there are some probable reasons to be presently adduced in favour of it. But the very form of the note about Paraballon seems to imply some novelty, an exceptional distinction in his inscription; and what we are here seeking is evidence for an *early* register, in fact a register of the contests down to 600 B.C.

What evidence does Pausanias afford of this? As I have said, there is not a word about a register or catalogue, but there are several notes of old offerings and inscriptions, which show us what sort of material existed, at least in Pausanias' day. And there is no reason whatever to believe that many ancient monuments or inscriptions had been injured, unless Hippias carried out his work of falsifying them on a large scale. There were indeed several monuments antedated by mere vulgar mistakes. Such was the *stele* of Chionis (vi. 13, 2), who was reported to have won in four successive contests (Ols. 28–31), but the reference in the inscription to *armed races as not yet introduced*, proved even to Pausanias that it was a public record set up long after Chionis' period. There was again the monument of Pheidolas' children, whose epigram Pausanias notes as conflicting (vi. 13, 10) with τὰ Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας γράμματα. *ὁ γδοη γὰρ Ὀλ. καὶ ἐξηκοστῇ καὶ οὐ πρὸ ταύτης ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς Ἡλ. γράμμασι ἡ νίκη τῶν Φ. παίδων*. These *γράμματα*—a word quite distinct from *ἀναγραφαί*—are probably

nothing but the treatise of Hippias, preserved and copied at Elis. Other cases I need not mention.

But as regards genuine early monuments, Pausanias tells us that Coroebus had no statue at Olympia, and it seems there was no record of his victory save the epigram on his tomb at the border of Elis and Arcadia. Then comes the case of the Spartan Eutelidas (vi. 14, 8), who conquered as a boy in the 38th Ol., the only contest ever held for a pentathlon of boys. ἔστι δὲ ἡ τε εἰκὼν ἀρχαία τοῦ Εὐτ., καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ βύθρῳ γράμματα ἀμυδρὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου. But this statue cannot have been so old even as the 38th Ol. For in vi. 18, 7, he tells us that the first athletes' statues set up at Olympia were those of Praxidamas the Aeginetan, who won in boxing at the 59th Ol., and that of the Opuntian Rexibios the pancratiast, at the 61st. 'These portrait statues are not far from the pillar of Oenomaos, and are made of wood, Rexibios' of fig-tree, but the Aeginetan's of cypress, and less decayed than the other.' Just below this we have a mention of a treasure-house, dedicated by the Sicyonian tyrant Myron in the 33rd Ol. In this treasure-house was an inscribed shield, 'an offering to Zeus from the Myones.' τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι γράμματα παρῆκται μὲν ἐπὶ βραχύ, πέπονθε δὲ αὐτὸ διὰ τοῦ ἀναθήματος τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

These exhaust the oldest dated monuments found by Pausanias. He mentions indeed an ancient treasury of the Megarians, dating from a time before either yearly archons at Athens or Olympiads (vi. 19, 13).¹ Thus the antiquarian traveller, who revelled in the venerable in history and the *pre-Raphaelite* in Greek art, could find no dated votive offerings older than the 33rd Ol., and these he specially notes as of extraordinary antiquity, decayed and illegible with age. We may feel almost certain that he omitted no really important extant relic of old times in his survey.

Such then were the materials from which Hippias proceeded, somewhere about the year 400 B.C., or probably later, to compile the full and authentic register of the Olympiads. There may have been some old inscriptions which Pausanias overlooked, or which had become illegible and had disappeared under the soil with time. Doubtless there were many old traditions at Elis,

¹ The recent excavations have refuted this very early date for the treasure house

which the Eleian sophist would gather and utilise. There were also throughout Greece, in the various cities he visited, traditions and inscriptions relating to victors who had been natives of these cities. But that these formed an unbroken chain from Coroebus down to Hippias' day is quite incredible.

His work is so completely lost that we can only conjecture his method of proceeding from the general character of his age, and from the critical spirit we can fairly attribute to it. He had before him the history of the Pythian festival, which began in historical times (Ol. 48), if we omit the old contest in a hymn to the gods. The various innovations and additions were well known, and it is certain that at Olympia too the range of contests had been enlarged by the pentathlon, the pancration, the hoplite race, &c. But it is likely that Hippias carried out this analogy too far. He found no traditions for the other events as old as Coroebus, and he assumed that the games had begun with a simple short race. *Accordingly as he found the first record of each competition*, he set down its first origin. He was thus led to make the *στάδιον* the 'eponymous competition,' if I may coin the expression, though it is more than probable that the early festivals were known by the victor in the greatest feats and—had there been a real register—by the Hellanodicae who had presided. For it is certain from Pausanias that the umpire did inscribe his name with those of the victors.

Hippias' work, the *γράμματα* of the Eleians in after days, was thus a work based upon a problematical reconstruction of history. It rested for its earlier portions on scanty and broken evidence; as it proceeded, and monuments became more numerous, its authenticity increased. After Ol. 60, when the fashion came in of setting up athlete statues, we may assume it in the main to have been correct; though even here there were not wanting discrepancies with other evidence, and possibly some *mala fides* on the part of the compiler.¹

There remain, therefore, three points of interest connected with the theory thus proposed. Have we any evidence of the date at which the Hellanodicae first made it a matter of ambition to inscribe their own names, and those of victors in

¹ Cf. the case of Oebotas, supposed to have won the 6th Ol., but also asserted to have fought in Plataea in

Ol. 75. His statue and epigram, be it observed, dated from about Ol. 80.—Paus. vi. 3, 8; vii. 17, 18.

the gymnasium, at Olympia? Are there traces of a fictitious schematising in the extant list of victors previous to this date? Why and for what reasons did Hippias fix on the year 776 B.C. as the commencement of his list? The question of the an-Olympiads I must postpone, owing to the length of the present paper.

(1) There are several probable reasons for fixing the origin of registering the victories at about the 50th Ol. It was about this time that the Eleians finally conquered the Pisatans, and secured the complete management of the games. From their spoils they built the magnificent Doric temple lately excavated, and no doubt increased the splendour of Olympia in other ways. For in addition to their increase of power they were stimulated by a new and dangerous competition—that of the Pythian games, established in the third year of the 48th Ol., and this may have been one of the reasons why they determined finally to crush the Pisatans. It is likely that the Nemean and Isthmian games were instituted about the same time, and these rival games were perhaps connected with some complaints as to the management of the Olympian festival, for no Eleian was admitted to compete at the Isthmian games (Paus. v. 2, 2). The Eleians were accordingly put upon their mettle, both to keep their contest unequalled in splendour, and beyond suspicion in fairness. To obtain the first, they lavished the spoils of Pisa, as already mentioned. As to the second, we have a remarkable story told us by Herodotus (ii. 160), and again by Diodorus (i. 95), that they sent an embassy as far as Egypt to consult the Pharaoh as to the best possible conduct of the games. This king told them *that no Eleian should be allowed to compete*. Herodotus calls him Psammis (Psammetichus II.), who reigned 594–87 B.C.; and he is a higher authority than Diodorus, who calls him Amasis, and so brings down the date by twenty-five years. Herodotus' story has never been much noticed, or brought into relation with the other facts here adduced, but it surely helps to throw light on the question. And there is yet one more important datum. Pausanias tells us that in Ol. 50 a second umpire was appointed. If the practice of official registering now commenced at Olympia, as it certainly did at Delphi in the Pythian games, we can understand Pausanias' remarks about Paraballon and others having

esteemed it a special glory to leave their names associated with the victors'. For it was a new honour. From this time onward, therefore, I have nothing to say against the register which we find in Eusebius.

(2) But as regards the first fifty Olympiads, is there any appearance of deliberate invention or arrangement about the list of names? Can we show that Hippias worked on theory, and not from distinct evidence? It is very hard to do this, especially when we admit that he had a good many isolated victories recorded or remembered, and as he was a good antiquarian, and no doubt worked out a probable list. Thus the list begins with victors from the neighbourhood, and gradually admits a wider range of competitors. This is natural enough, but I confess my suspicion at the occurrence of eight Messenians out of the first twelve victors, followed by their total disappearance till after the restoration by Epaminondas. For the sacred truce gave ample occasion for exiled Messenians to compete at the games.¹ I also feel grave suspicions at the curious absence of Eleian victors. Excepting the first two, there is not a single Eleian in the list. How is this consistent with Psammis' remark to the Eleians? For how could they have avoided answering him that their fairness was proved by the occurrence of no Eleian as victor eponymous for 170 years? Many Eleian victors are indeed noticed by Pausanias in the other events. It is hardly possible that they could not have conquered in the *stadion*, but for some deliberate intention to put forward foreigners. I have suspicions about Oebotas, placed in the 6th Ol. by Hippias, but about the 75th by the common tradition of the Greeks. It is curious, too, that Athenian victors should always occur in juxtaposition with Laconian. But all these are only suspicions.

(3) I come to the last and most important point; indeed it was this which suggested the whole inquiry. On what principles, or by what evidence, did Hippias fix on the year 776 B.C. as his starting-point? We need not plunge into the arid and abstruse computations of years and cycles which make early chronology so difficult to follow and to appreciate. For one general consideration is here sufficient. Even had we not shown from Plutarch's words, and from the silence of all our

¹ Hippias' false epigram on the Sicilian Messenians (above mentioned) shows that the Messenians exiled from Messene were eligible.

authorities, that Hippias *could* not have determined it by counting *upwards* the exact number of duly recorded victories, it is perfectly certain that he *would* not have followed this now accepted method. All the Greek chronologists—logographers they are sometimes improperly called—down to Hippias' day made it their chief object to derive historical families and states from mythical ancestors, and they did this by reasoning *downwards* by generations. They assumed a fixed starting-point, either the siege of Troy, or the return of the Herakleids. From this the number of generations gave the number of years. Thus we may assume that Hippias sought to determine the date of the 1st Olympiad by King Iphitus; he found that he was in the generation which brought him down to the period 400 years before himself. He thus fixed the date of both Iphitus and Lycurgus. The Spartan chronologers would not accept such a date for Lycurgus. His place in the generations of Herakleids put him fully three generations earlier. They therefore sought means to accommodate the matter, and counted twenty-eight nameless Olympiads from Lycurgus (and Iphitus) to Coroebus. Others imagined two Iphiti. But all such schemes are to us idle; for we may feel certain that the number of Olympiads was accommodated to the date of Iphitus, and not the date of Iphitus to the number of Olympiads.

Unfortunately the genealogy of Iphitus is not extant; in Pausanias' day he already had three different fathers; and we cannot, therefore, follow out the *a priori* scheme of Hippias in this instance; but I will illustrate it by another, which still plays a prominent figure in our histories of Greece—I mean the chronology of the Sicilian and Italian colonies, as given by Thucydides in his sixth book. He speaks with the greatest precision of events in the latter half of the eighth century B.C.; he even speaks of events which happened 300 years before the arrival of the Greeks in Sicily. As Thucydides was really not inspired, he must have drawn these things from some authority; and the researches of the Germans have made out with tolerable clearness that his source was here the work of Antiochus of Syracuse. This man was evidently an antiquarian no wiser or more scientific than his fellows; he betrays their method by dating all the foundations *downwards* from that of Syracuse. He was obliged to admit the priority of Naxos, but grants it

only one year; then he starts from his fixed era. But how was the date of the foundation of Syracuse determined? Not, as is often implied, from city registers and careful computations of years backward from the fifth century. Such an assumption is to my mind chimerical, and the source of many illusions. The foundation of Syracuse was determined as to date by its founder, Archias, *being the tenth from Temenos*. The return of the Herakleidae was placed before the middle of the eleventh century B.C.; hence Archias would fall below the middle of the eighth century. The false date of Pheidon of Argos, 747 B.C., was fixed in the same way by his being the tenth Temenid, and hence the 8th Ol. was set down as his celebration. He is now brought down nearly a century (to 670 B.C.) in date.

I will sum up in conclusion the results of this long discussion. When we emerge into the light of Greek history, we find the venerable Olympian games long established, and most of their details referred to mythical antiquity. We find no list of victors recognised by the early historians, and we have the strongest negative evidence that no such list existed in the days of Thucydides. Nevertheless about 580 B.C. the feast was more strictly regulated, and the victors' names recorded, perhaps regularly, in inscriptions; from 540 B.C. onward the practice of dedicating athlete statues with inscriptions was introduced, though not for every victor. About 500 B.C. we find many inscriptions (that of Hiero is still extant), and there was ample evidence from which to write the history of the festival; but this was never done till the time of the archaeologist and rhetorician Hippias, who was a native of Elis, with influence and popularity there, and who even placed new inscriptions on old votive offerings. This man (about 390-70 B.C.) constructed the whole history of the feast, partly from the evidence before him, partly from the analogy of other feasts. He fixed the commencement of his list, after the manner of the chronologers of his day, by the date of the mythical founder. Hence neither the names nor the dates found in Eusebius' copy of the register for the first fifty Olympiads are to be accepted as genuine, unless they are corroborated by other evidence.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

ON SOME IONIC ELEMENTS IN ATTIC TRAGEDY.

(Continued from Vol. I. p. 292.)

IN the former part of this paper I started from the fact that the use in Attic prose of forms in *-οοσυνος*, *-οοσυνη*, is limited by certain rules as to meaning and etymology, which do not apply to Ionic literature; and I observed that the usage of the Attic tragedians followed in these respects the practice of the Ionians. This being so, I advanced the hypothesis that the tragedians and their audiences must have been aware of the peculiar character of these words, and that upon investigation the passages of tragedy in which they occurred would be found to have in other ways also an Ionic colour or a special connection with Ionic language and tradition, which colour or connection the reader must perceive if he would fully appreciate the tone, and in some cases the meaning, of the author. So far as the limit of my space extended this anticipation was, I think, fulfilled. I showed that in some cases certainly (p. 272), in others almost certainly (p. 279 foll.), these words were actually inflected according to the Ionic rule. I showed that in one instance the presence of the word *εὐφροσύνης* enabled us to detect a complete quotation from an elegiac poet (p. 264); that the very scanty fragments which remain to us of some species of Ionic literature were yet sufficient to illustrate our corresponding examples in tragedy with great precision (pp. 268, 278); and that in other cases we could not only fairly presume that such illustration once existed, but could distinguish with something more than probability (p. 289) the quality of the buried source,—the maxims of primitive medicine, or the Troezenian hymns to Hippolytus. We are now to complete the evidence by some positive additions and some negative corroborations.

We were last discussing the connection between Ionia and the language of hero-worship. But the tales and hymns of the rhapsodists were not the only kind of literature written in the dactylic metre and Ionic phraseology. In the period immediately preceding the rise of tragedy was produced a species of composition borrowing to a considerable extent the language and method of the bards, but differing widely in tone from the Epos and its nearer descendants. I speak, of course, of the Proverbial Poetry. The fragments which have come down to us are scanty indeed, but we may be sure that they stand for a large class, and it is specially observable that this kind of writing was in its day popular in Athens, one of the greatest names in the art being a name which Athenians mention with reverence almost religious, that of Solon, the founder, as he may be called, of the city. If the harp of Homer and the Homeridae was to the Athenians as the harp of David, Solon was in their eyes something more than a Solomon. Here then was another stop in the compass of an Attic audience which the great masters of their feelings would naturally desire to draw out, by employing upon fit occasions the very tones and words which had served to express the wisdom of their fathers that begat them. Now not only did the writers of *γνώμαι* inherit the forms in *-οσυνή* with the rest of the rhapsodists' apparatus, but incidentally their use of these forms became of very much greater importance, for, as I have already said, the peculiar character of the words on this model which ultimately found their way into common prose leaves little doubt that it was from the ethical proverb-writers that they were taken, the prosaists when they first employed ethical abstract substantives being compelled to borrow from the authors who had given a partial currency to the convenient suffix of a foreign though kindred dialect. We have already seen in one example—scarcely I think to be disputed—that the tragedians actually did cite for their purposes the hallowed sentences of popular philosophy (Aesch. *P. V.* 536; see p. 264), and we marked there the presence of the significant term *εὐφροσύνη*. As the gnomic poets are almost entirely lost to us, we cannot hope to detect *quotation* unless it goes, as in that example, to the length of a verse or more, but *imitation* or adaptation of the ancient language to the expression of religious

or philosophic sentiments will be happily as much easier to discover as it is likely to be more frequent and more interesting.

The instances of our form in Sophokles are, as will appear before we have finished, four in all, ἀφροσύνη, ἐφημοσύνη (?), λησμοσύνη, σκαιοσύνη. This considered, it is a noticeable fact that two of these four occur within twenty lines. In the *Oedipus at Kolonos* we find (1211)—

ὅστις τοῦ πλέονος μέρους
 χρήζει τοῦ μετρίου παρεῖς
 ζῶειν, σκαιοσύναν φυλάσσων
 ἐν ἐμοὶ κατάδηλος ἔσται·

and a little below (1229)—

ὥς εὖτ' ἂν τὸ νέον παρῇ
 κούφας ἀφροσύνας φέρον,
 τίς πλάγχθη πολύμοχθος ἔ-
 ξω, τίς οὐ καμάτων ἐνι;

The pathos and dignity of that poem cannot in any case fail of their impression; but we do not give ourselves the best possible chance of feeling it as they felt it for whom it was written, unless we realize that its very language is 'biblical'—no other word will convey the right notion in English—full of forms and uses, and doubtless, if we could trace them, of actual phrases belonging to that older poetry of conduct which had taken possession of the Athenian heart and mind, when there was no tragedy yet. It is as though one were now to begin thus—

*The fool hath said in his heart,
 'I will love life and seek to see long days.'*

It has been already observed that the very peculiar use of φυλάσσων is 'Homeric' (Prof. Campbell, citing *Il.* xvi. 30, χόλος δν σὺ φυλάσσεις). But the fact is that most of the first 'stanza' (ὅστις...ἔσται) is 'Homeric' in the sense that the language is that of Ionic poetry, the language of Homer, transmitted through the epigrams of the sages and coloured in the channel: ζῶειν, for example—that is not Attic, but 'Epic,' nor shall we suppose, if indeed such a supposition were for an instant entertainable, that Sophokles forgot or neglected

the origin of the form if we compare the parallel passages (*El.* 157, and *fr.* 685, ed. Dind. 1865)—

οἷα Χρυσόθεμις ζῶει καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα,

an Epic hexameter down to the very digamma; and again,

ζῶοι τις ἀνθρώπων τὸ κατ' ἡμᾶρ ὅπως
ἡδιστα πορσύνων, τὸ δ' ἐς αὐρίον ἀεὶ τυφλὸν ἔρπει,

in which the very same characteristics recur, the sententious meaning, the ancient vocabulary, the fragments easily replaced of the hexameter rhythm. But look once more at the *Oedipus*: between ζῶειν and φυλάσσω stands σκαιοσύναν (or -ην?), not less Ionic than either: and by the help of this hint we shall find something to say about τοῦ μετρίου παρῆς. This we are told to translate 'letting go of the mean,' that is disregarding it. Now it may be that such a metaphor is less clumsy in Greek than in English, though I hardly think so. It may be that a verb which took an accusative ninety-nine times might nevertheless take a poetical genitive in the hundredth; but this question, so far as ἔημι is concerned, is not to be prejudiced by false authority. The reader will find in many commentaries on Sophokles, and in lexicons s.v. παρίημι, a reference to the *Phaedrus* of Plato, 235 *E*, παρέντι...τοῦ ἐγκωμιάζειν. If he is in the habit of verification he will be surprised, or rather he will not be surprised, on turning to the place, to read as follows: τίνα οἶει λέγοντα ὡς χρὴ μὴ ἐρῶντι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐρῶντι χαρίζεσθαι, παρέντα τοῦ μὲν τὸ φρόνιμον ἐγκωμιάζειν, τοῦ δὲ τὸ ἄφρον ψέγειν, ἀναγκαῖα γοῦν ὄντα, εἴτ' ἄλλ' ἅττα ἔξειν λέγειν; 'Who,' asks Socrates, 'could argue that the cool is to be preferred to the impassioned suitor, without lauding the good sense of the former and censuring the absurdities of the latter; or if he did overlook topics so trite and obvious, what else could he find to say?' (Thompson's *Phaedrus*, *ad loc.*) It would be interesting to foresee in how many editions of the *Oedipus* this reference is destined to appear. But seeing the trouble we are at to maintain παρῆς, and the poor service which it is likely to render, should we not gain by restoring the last two letters IC to the copyists (see Vol. I. p. 285), and taking for ourselves the K of Sophokles? τοῦ μετρίου παρέκ, *beyond the mean*, is Greek, and what is more, it is Ionic Greek, Greek of the *Iliad* and the

Odyssey, of Herodotos and Hippokrates, of Solon and Theognis, as ζῶειν is and σκαισύνη. And since the more we examine the use of παρέμι the less we shall be disposed to like the phrase 'letting the mean go by,' we shall prefer to use Sophokles for the correction of Plato, rather than Plato for the perversion of Sophokles, and shall write in the *Laws* 691 C, εἰάν τις μείζονα διδῶ τοῖς ἐλάττοσι παρέκ τὸ μέτριον (MSS. παρείς): παρέκ is followed either by the genitive for one preposition, or by the accusative for the other. An old proverb might well retain these quaint terms even in Attic, but the scribes did not see what they were not prepared to see. If it is urged that παρείς τὸ μέτριον can be construed, though παρείς τοῦ μετρίου cannot, I shall ask the objector to construe Eur. *Alc.* 939—

ἐγὼ δ' ὅν οὐ χρῆν ζῆν παρείς τὸ μόρσιμον
λυπρὸν διὰ ξω βίοντον.

Applying here the analogy of the supposed παρείς τὸ μέτριον, we clearly require παρέντα; to divide the sentence at ζῆν is dangerous to the sense and utterly ruinous to the rhythm. We must replace, as in the *Oedipus*, παρέκ, the substance of the two passages being almost identical, and the two corrections thus receiving the strongest mutual support. From all this it is clear that the opening of this strophe has at least the style and phrases of an Ionic γνώμη. That we cannot point to the source from which Sophokles adapted it is, in the paucity of our repertory, not strange; much more worth attention is the fact that the antistrophe opens with a proverb which we are able to identify—

μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νι-
κᾷ λόγον· τὸ δ' ἐπεὶ φάνη,
βῆναι κείθεν ὅθεν περ ἤ-
κει πολὺ δεύτερον ὡς τάχιστα.

These lines are a close translation, as was long ago seen, of a very popular saying (πανταχοῦ θρυλούμενον, Eur. *fr.* 287) of 'Theognis' (425 Bergk):

πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχthonίοισιν ἄριστον . . .
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀἰδαο περῆσαι.

(I omit the pentameters, which are not to our purpose, or indeed to any.) Are we not almost driven to suppose that the strophe stood in the same relation to some other saying not yet brought to light, but not difficult to figure in imagination? We can now see better why the poet introduces lower down the extremely rare ἀφροσύναι, recalling not only the words but the thought of the γέρων ἥρως Ἀλιθέρσης (*Od.* xxiv. 456)—

οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ πείθεσθ' οὐ Μέντορι ποιμένι λαῶν,
 ὑμετέρους παῖδας καταπαυέμεν ἀφροσυνάων,
 οὐ μέγα ἔργον ἔρεξαν ἀτασθαλίῃσι κακῆσιν

and how to account for πλάγχθη and for φάνη (if that and not φανῆ is the true reading).

The same tone of religious meditation prevails, and has determined the same choice of expression, in two fine passages of the *Bacchæ*. It will be almost sufficient to quote them—

385 ἀχαλίνων στομάτων
 ἀνόμου τ' ἀφροσύνας
 τὸ τέλος δυστυχία·
 ὁ δὲ τᾶς ἡσυχίας
 βίωτος καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν
 ἀσάλευτόν τε μένει
 καὶ συνέχει δώματα· πόρσω γὰρ ὅμως
 αἰθέρα ναίοντες ὀρώσιν τὰ βροτῶν οὐρανίδαί.

882 ὀρμᾶται μόλις, ἀλλ' ὅμως
 πιστόν τι τὸ θεῖον
 σθένος· ἀπευθεύνει δὲ βροτῶν
 τοὺς τ' ἀγνωμοσύναν
 τιμῶντας καὶ μὴ τὰ θεῶν
 αὔξοντας ξὺν μαινομένα δόξα.

In both cases it is probable that a more complete collection of the γινῶμαι as they were known in the time of Euripides would enable us to illustrate his references more precisely. Judging by the work of Aeschylus in the *Prometheus* (see I. p. 264) it is difficult to resist the belief that *Bacch.* 385 is a verbal citation—

στομάτων ἀχαλίνων
 ἀφροσύνης τ' ἀνόμου δυστυχίῃ τὸ τέλος.

The topics are the commonplaces of the Proverbs—the advantages of *εὐνομία* (Solon 3, 33), the power of the gods and the certainty of their vengeance (Solon 12, 25), the praise of *γνωμοσύνη* (Solon 17, Theognis 895), and of *σωφροσύνη* (*passim*). In the second passage Euripides himself has marked his purpose in an emphatic way. The chorus in which it occurs has, like that in the *Choephoroe* above cited (I. p. 269), a burden, repeated at the end of each division, as follows—

τί τὸ σοφὸν ἢ τί τὸ κάλλιον
παρὰ θεῶν γέρας ἐν βροτοῖς
ἢ χεῖρ' ὑπὲρ κορυφᾶς
τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρείσσω κατέχειν ;
ὃ τι καλὸν φίλον αἰεὶ.

Even without the actual quotation at the close (Theognis 17, cited by Elmsley) we could hardly have failed to remember in reading these lines the fierce exile of Megara thirsting for the draught of revenge, and urging himself to merciless execution—

τῶν εἴη μέλαν αἶμα πιεῖν (Theognis 346).

οὕτως ἂν δοκέοιμι μετ' ἀνθρώπων θεὸς εἶναι
εἷ μ' ἀποτισάμενον μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου (*Id.* 340).

εὖ κώτιλλε τὸν ἐχθρόν· ὅταν δ' ὑποχείριος ἔλθῃ
τίσαι νιν πρόφασιν μηδεμίαν θέμενος (*Id.* 364).

Three times, in addition to the allusions already cited to the Hippolytean hymns (I. p. 289), Euripides uses *σωφροσύνη*—

στέγοι¹ δέ με σωφροσύνα δῶρημα κάλλιστον θεῶν (*Med.* 635).

μετρίων λέκτρων μετρίων δὲ γάμων
μετὰ σωφροσύνης
κύρσαι θνητοῖσιν ἄριστον *fr.* 503 (505);

and again,

ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν πρεσβύτερον
νομίζω τᾶς σωφροσύνας,
ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀεὶ ξύνεστι. *fr.* 848 (ed. Dind. 1865).

Now *σωφροσύνη* is one of the very few words of the class which ultimately became part of the current literary medium, the commonest of all by far, except perhaps *δικαιοσύνη*. It is also one of the still smaller group which were regarded as familiar terms by Thucydides, a group, be it remembered, from which there are positive reasons for excluding *δικαιοσύνη* itself. If then there is a word which the Attic poets of the fifth century might be expected to use so freely as to obscure all trace of its origin, it is *σωφροσύνη*. What are the facts? Neither Aeschylus nor Sophokles uses it at all. Euripides uses it in five places. Two of these (see I. 289) are proved almost by the poet's own statement to be drawn from an assignable source, and that source 'Epic.' And what of the other three above quoted? *σωφροσύνην δόρημα θεῶν κάλλιστον ἐπαινῶ, αἰνῶ σωφροσύνην κύρσαι θνητοῖσιν ἄριστον, σωφροσύνης οὐδὲν πρεσβύτερον νομίσας*. Is this, or is it not, the style, language, and sentiment of 'Solon' and 'Theognis'? Those who know the relics shall decide. And if even *σωφροσύνη* had not, to the ear of Euripides, so far lost these special associations, but that it always drew along with it a train of poetic memories, what is likely to be the case of *ἀπιστοσύνη*, or *εὐφροσύνη*, or *καλλόσυνη*?

The words *δικαιοσύνης τὸ χρύσειον πρόσωπον*, or, according to another version, *δικαιοσύνης τηλαυγὲς χρυσοῦν πρόσωπον*, are attributed to Euripides' *Melanippe* by the scholiast to Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* v. 2; see Dindorf, *Eur. fr.* 489, ed. 1865; 490, ed. 1868). The phrase, or rather the context, is cited by Aristotle, with his usual *δοκεῖ*, as a common observation. The form of it can scarcely be fixed with certainty, but the simplest way seems to be to combine the MSS. and write—

δικαιοσύνης τηλαυγὲς τε χρύσεόν [τε] πρόσωπον

that is,

τηλαυγὲς τε δικαιοσύνης χρύσεόν τε πρόσωπον.

The scholiast gives, it seems, the form in *η*, which we may safely retain in such cases whenever we can find it, whatever may be our best course as to alteration.

I may close this part of the subject appropriately with an example which combines the qualities of the two classes last

investigated, being both a proverb and a thought proper to the rhapsodists, Eur. *H. F.* 676—

μὴ ζῶν μετ' ἀμουσίας,
 ἀεὶ δ' ἐν στεφάνοισιν εἶην.
 ἔτι τοι γέρων ἀοιδὸς
 κελαδεῖ Μναμοσύναν·
 ἔτι τὰν Ἑρακλέους
 καλλίνικον αἰδῶ
 παρά τε Βρόμιον οἶνοδόταν
 παρά τε χέλυσ ἐπτατόνου
 μολπὰν καὶ Λίβυν αὐλόν·
 οὐπω καταπαύσομεν
 Μούσας, αἷ μ' ἐκόρευσαν.

The old men are regretting their vanished youth—*ἀ νεότας μοι φίλον*· ἄχθος δὲ τὸ γῆρας ἀεὶ—but rejoicing, like their coevals in the *Agamemnon*, that it has left them the powers of poetry and song. *The bard, we know, still in his old age renews his patron Memory*; (*Μνημοσύνην ἔτι τοι κελαδεῦσι γέροντες ἀοιδοί*). *So will I still sing the triumph-song of Herakles with aid of lyre and wine, and not yet put aside the Muses, who fostered my youth*, being of course the patrons of *μουσική* or education. The reader may perhaps recollect that I promised (*I. p.* 283) some remarks upon the verb *κορεύω* (= *παιδεύω*, see Eur. *Alc.* 313, and cf. *κόρος*, *κόρη*), which, as I pointed out, has been expelled from *Ion* 1083 by the familiar *χορεύω*. He will, in that case, divine that the MSS and editions here give *ἐχόρευσαν*—*the Muses who set me dancing*. The difference in point of sense between the two verbs is in my judgment simply the difference between the beautiful and the grotesque. It is useless to argue a point of taste, and a mere point of taste it is, for in two other places (see *I. p.* 283, and *inf. p.* 207) *χορεύω* has replaced *κορεύω*, and here the corruption would be more than usually facile from the occurrence of *χορεύω* in a transitive sense twice in this same play (*H. F.* 871, 879).

τάχα σ' ἐγὼ μᾶλλον χορεύσω καὶ καταυλήσω φόβῳ: *With horror, says the demon Frenzy, I will pipe thee anon to a wilder dance*; and again,

μανιάσιν Λύσσης χορευθέντ' ἀναύλοις: *dancing to Frenzy's fit unmusical*. It is therefore practically certain that whether *κορεύω* or *χορεύω* were the original word, our MSS. in such a case as this would exhibit the second, and the choice between the two must therefore be made without the aid of authority.

We now enter upon a somewhat different field. We observed in the *Persae* (I. p. 267) a passage in which the Ionic forms and vocabulary are introduced, not because the subject of it is drawn from Ionic literature and thus specially associated with that dialect, but because the sentiments expressed are those of the living Ionians, the Asiatic contemporaries of the poet. We also found (*ibid.* p. 268) that in the *Hecuba* the *Asiatic women* (see the list of *dramatis personae*) of the chorus are made to employ the same language, and in particular the adjectives *δεσπόσυνος* and *δουλόσυνος*, in a way which it seemed reasonable to attribute not to chance, but to the deliberate purpose of giving to their part a colour appropriate to their supposed origin. We are now to see whether the same theory will give or gain light in other cases. We are able to test it by a decisive example. Euripides has introduced in the *Orestes* a strange and ludicrous figure which can only be described as a caricature in Greek pigments of the typical Oriental or Asiatic character. The person is a Phrygian slave, brought home by Menelaos after the sack of Troy, and he enters flying in terror from the sword of Orestes. His Oriental dress (1370), speech (1397), and habits (1427), and above all his more than Oriental cowardice (1518), are vividly painted, and the anticipated contempt of the audience is expressed through the chorus and the other actors (1425, *σύ δ' ἦσθα ποῦ τότ', ἢ πάλαι φεύγεις φόβῳ*;). Now this personage is hardly upon the stage when he gives vent to a burst of lamentation for the fall of his native city, and this lamentation contains *within the short space of six lines* the adjective *καλλόσυνος* and the substantive *ἵπποσύνη*. There is nothing else like it in tragedy, and though it is somewhat obscure for want of illustration from literature now lost, and from other causes, it is well worth quoting, that its character may be directly perceived (1381)—

Ἴλιον Ἴλιον, ὦ μοι, μοι
Φρύγιον ἄστν καλλίβωλόν τ'

Ἰδας ὄρος ἱερὸν, ὥς σ' ὀλόμενον στένω,
 ἄρμάτειον ἄρμάτειον
 μέλος βαρβάρῳ βοᾷ,
 δι' ὀρνιθόγονον ὄμμα κυκνόπτερον
 καλλοσύνας Λήδας σκύμνου δυσελένας,
 ξεστῶν περγάμων Ἀπολλωνίων
 ἐρινύν' ὀτοτοῖ
 ἰαλέμων ἰαλέμων
 Δαρδανία τλάμων Γανυμήδεος
 ἱπποσύνας Διὸς εὐνέτα.

The peculiarity of this language and of much else in the scene is too palpable to be missed, but these signal instances deserve our most careful examination, as it is in them that we must recover the laws of style and diction which to the Greek audience were matters of instinct. Otherwise we shall miss their application, and with it much of the poet's power, in places where the shade of distinction is more subtle and therefore more interesting. For example, the song of the chorus in the *Andromache*,

ὦ Φοῖβ' ὁ πυργώσας, κ.τ.λ.,

in many respects an exceedingly beautiful composition, should appear to us as full of idiom and character as the *Cotter's Saturday Night*. It exhibits in 1016 τεκτοσύνας and in 1031 μαντόσσυον, two such forms in a score of verses. I doubt whether there is a parallel to this throughout the tragedians, except in the ὅστις τοῦ πλέονος μέρους of the second *Oedipus* (see above, p. 181) and the Phrygian's dirge just cited from the *Orestes*. We may therefore feel certain that here also this unusual freedom is no careless licence, especially as the song is full of words and forms actually traceable to the 'Asiatic' dialect, as well as others which we may assign to the same source by probable guess. We have within thirty-seven short lines Ἐνναλίῳ, δοριμήστορι, ἀπὸ δὲ φθίμενοι, βασιλῆς, παλάμαι (violence, outrage), ἀπηύρα, κτάνεν, μέλποντο, ἐκ δὲ λείπον (as I think we should read in 1040, not ἐκ δ' ἔλειπον), εὐνήτορα, and, most remarkable of all, the *Homeric subjunctive* with the short vowel—

ὦ δαῖμον, ὦ Φοῖβε, πῶς πείθομαι ;

which if we translate as a deliberative tense (*How am I to believe*

it ?), we must also parse as such.¹ In fact, including the forms in *-οσυν-*, there is something 'Epic' in almost every clause, even if we do not count the mysterious *ἀγόρους* for *ἀγόρας*, and *κέλωρ*, *son*. Now the main subject of this song is the very same as that in the *Orestes*—a lamentation for the fall of Troy—

ὦ Φοῖβ' ὁ πυργώσας τὸν ἐν Ἰλίῳ εὐτειχῇ πάγον, καὶ πόντιε
κυανέαις

ἵπποις διφρεῶν ἄλιον πέλαγος,
τίνος οὐνεκ' ἄτιμον ὀργάναν χέρα τεκτοσύνας Ἐ-
νναλίῳ δοριμήστορι προσθέντες τάλαιναν
τάλαιναν μεθεῖτε Τροίαν;

The chorus however are not Orientals, but women of Phthia, so that at first sight this example seems to abate from the significance of the others. But a closer examination of the play will show that Euripides was not thus forgetful of himself. It is the special character of the chorus in the *Andromache* that they are Phthiotess in whom the woman has prevailed over the Hellene, and whose sympathies are with the oppressed and forsaken Asiatic princess against her Spartan rival. This is their cue from the first (117)—

ὦ γυναῖ, ἃ Θέτιδος δάπεδον καὶ ἀνάκτορα θάσσεις
δαρὸν, οὐδὲ λείπεις,
Φθιάς ὅμως ἔμολον ποτὶ σὰν Ἀσιήτιδα γένναν,
εἴ τί σοι δυναίμαν
ἄκος τῶν δυσλύτων πόνων τεμεῖν,
οἱ σὲ καὶ Ἑρμιόναν ἔριδι στυγερᾷ συνέκλῃσαν.

In this particular ode this feeling is altogether predominant, the tragedy of the house of Atreus being introduced indeed, but entirely in subordination to the main Trojan theme. The singers therefore are Trojan for the nonce, and it is but natural that the language employed should be that which by origin and literary use was appropriate to the sorrows of Ilion. The fact that the great Greek dialects were, as I before

¹ This might be removed by the correction, very slight from a palaeographical point of view, *πέισμαι*. (C for Q.) But then this is to sub-

stitute the *proclivius* for the *arduum*. The present indicative appears to me quite impossible.

put it, at once provincial and classic, enabled the poet to introduce such language without absurdity.

What cause brought into *Iph. Taur.* 1280 the word *μαντοσύνη* or *ἀληθοσύνη*, Nauck (whichever of the two corrections we accept for the MS. *λαθοσύνη*), it is not so easy to say; indeed the whole ode in which it occurs, with its Pythian legend and allusions, is difficult to account for or to connect with the plot of the play—a fact, whatever may have been said to the contrary, most unusual in the extant works of Euripides. For us, however, it would be enough to say that it was the same cause which brought there the numerous Epic turns and phrases in which the narrative abounds. It will be sufficient to cite the conclusion—

γέλασε δ' [Ζεὺς], ὅτι τέκος ἄφαρ ἔβα
 πολύχρυσά θέλων λατρεύματα σχεῖν,
 ἐπὶ δ' ἔσεισεν κόμαν, παύσειν νυχίους ἐνοπὰς
 ἀπὸ δὲ μαντοσύναν νυκτωπὸν ἐξεῖλεν βροτῶν,
 καὶ τιμὰς πάλιν
 θῆκε Λοξία,
 πολυάνορι δ' ἐν ξενόεντι θρόνῳ
 θάρσῃ βροτοῖς θεσφάτων ἀοιδαῖς.

As a mere conjecture I should suggest that the dramatist probably took the story of the suspension and restitution of the Apolline worship from a Delphic or Delian hymn, and preserved for the sake of its associations some of the phraseology of his original.

We will now consider the few instances in which the form in *-οσύνη* appears *without* its usual accompaniments. *ἀπειροσύνη* occurs in *Med.* 1094 and *Hipp.* 196, passages of almost pure Attic, and so thoroughly characteristic of their author that direct allusion or imitation cannot be suspected—

καὶ φημι βροτῶν οὔτινές εἰσιν
 πάμπαν ἄπειροι μῆδ' ἐφύτευσαν
 παῖδας, προφέρειν εἰς εὐτυχίαν
 τῶν γειναμένων.
 οἱ μὲν τ' ἄτεκνοι δι' ἀπειροσύνην
 εἴθ' ἡδὺ βροτοῖς εἴτ' ἀνιαρὸν
 παῖδες τελέθουσ' οὐχὶ τυχόντες
 πολλῶν μόχθων ἀπέχονται
 οἷσι δὲ τέκνων κ.τ.λ.

ἀλλ' ὅ τι τοῦ ζῆν φίλτερον ἄλλο
 σκότος ἀμπίσχων κρύπτει νεφέλαις.
 δυσέρωτες δὴ φαινόμεθ' ὄντες
 τοῦδ', ὅτι τοῦτο στίλβει κατὰ γῆν,
 δι' ἀπειροσύνην ἄλλου βιότου
 κούκ ἀπόδειξιν τῶν ὑπὸ γαίας·
 μύθοις δ' ἄλλως φερόμεσθα.

The first of these passages might perhaps rather have been classed under the rule than with the exceptions, for in the very line containing the word in debate we find the palpable Ionism *μέν τε* for *μέν* (so all the MSS. the excision of the *τ* is wholly unwarrantable, cf. I. p. 285). But for all that the two cannot conveniently be separated, and differ essentially from those in the *Oedipus at Kolonos* or the *Bacchae*, which we have previously examined.

It appears that *ἀπειροσύνη* is extant in Euripides only, though it is perfectly safe to suppose that the gnomic poets furnished him with examples of it. But assuming that, his manner of using it is none the less exceptional, for the sentiments are certainly not 'hymnic,' nor even 'gnomic,' though there is a solemn and religious tone in them which probably went for something in guiding the style. But as the fixing of the limits of Attic use in the matter of *-οσύνη* must have proceeded like other linguistic processes, gradually and by way of experiment, some words must, from the nature of the case, have been upon the doubtful line. Now there are points in which *ἀπειροσύνη* is less remote from Attic than most of the forms we have been considering. Convenience, which gradually forced a few of these Ionian words into circulation, seems in particular to have protected a certain number of *negative compounds*. I have already called attention to the plea which Thucydides puts in for *ἀφροσύνη* (Vol. I. p. 262), and a similar need may well have assisted the diffusion of *ἀγνωμοσύνη* and *ἀνεπιστημοσύνη*. How otherwise was the contrary of *ἐπιστήμη* to be expressed? In this way the Attic ear would become accustomed to negatives of this type; and as Attic poetry admitted the form *ἀπείρων* (stem *ἀπειρον-*) as well as *ἄπειρος*, we might expect even according to the stricter Attic laws of formation (I. p. 262) to find *ἀπειροσύνη* as a synonym of *ἄπειρία*. *ἀπειροσύνη*,

therefore, may well have stood, so to speak, upon a more familiar footing than *καλλόσυνος, τεκτοσύνη*, or even *ἀπιστοσύνη* (*ἀπίστων* being inconceivable). These passages from the *Medea* and the *Hippolytos* seem to prove that it did, and being 'on the line' in subject as well as in language, may even be said to support our other evidence by the 'method of concomitant variation.'

But no such explanation applies to the use of *ἐφημοσύνα* in *Soph. Phil.* 1144. The place has given much trouble, and it is worth while to consider whether the necessity which we must now feel of accounting for so unusual a form will suggest any fresh way of dealing with the difficulties of the context. Philoktetes has been exclaiming with passionate invective against the absent Odysseus, whom he figures to himself as exulting in the success of his device for employing Neoptolemos to steal the famous bow. The chorus defend Odysseus by pointing out that the scheme was undertaken from no selfish motive, but for the benefit of his compatriots of the Greek army—

κείνος δ' εἰς ἀπὸ πολλῶν
ταχθεὶς τοῦδ' ἐφημοσύνα
κοινὰν ἤνυσεν ἐς φίλους ἀρωγάν.

Professor Paley in his recent edition rightly makes it the first condition for interpreting these lines that *τοῦδε* must refer to the then-present Neoptolemos. This is decisive against *τῶνδε*, the only otherwise plausible correction suggested. Professor Paley himself concludes thus, 'Perhaps *τοῦδε ἐφημοσύνα* means 'by the ordering of,' i.e. by orders given to, Neoptolemos. Thus the sense is simple enough: Ulysses has used the services of this young man in assisting his friends.' This I believe to be very near the truth. The reason for the 'perhaps' was, I presume, that *ἐφημοσύνη*, *command*, or *injunction*, seems, both by its nature and according to the usage of the Epos, from which it comes, not well fitted to govern an objective genitive. To this we must now add that if Sophokles had meant so simple a thing as a command he would not have gone to a rare and artificial vocabulary for a word to express it. These *prima facie* objections will be avoided if we understand *τοῦδ' ἐφημοσύνα* to mean 'by setting him on,' that is, by working him up to an act from which he

was disposed to recoil, a sense which ἐφίημι not unfrequently bears in Homer; for example—

ἦ δὴ λολύγια ἔργ', ὅτ' ἐμ' ἐχθοδοπήσαι ἐφήσεις
"Hρῆ (Il. i. 518),

or again,

καὶ χόλος ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ χαλεπήναι.

To ἐφίεναι τινά the substantive corresponding is ἐφημοσύνη τινός, nor is there any other word by which the idea could be so well rendered. It is also quite appropriate to the part which Ulysses actually plays. I seem to see, however, certain further objections, which I submit for consideration. First, *Attic* usage does not justify this special rendering of ἐφίημι; secondly, *Epic* usage, if that is the proper standard, is against rather than for the extension of it to ἐφημοσύνη; and thirdly, a difficulty which I myself feel more strongly than either of these, it is after all scarcely to the point. Philoktetes reviles Odysseus not for overcoming the scruples of Neoptolemos but for practising a trick upon himself. Why therefore should the sailors refer to the other aspect of his conduct in their defence? What the context requires them to say is undoubtedly that Odysseus has, in the words of Professor Paley, 'used the services of this young man.' Shall I be pardoned for my temerity if I offer, as a solution, the reading τοῦδ' ὑφημοσύνα, *by suborning him*? To set another to act for you a deceitful part, which you cannot play in person, is in the language of Sophokles ἐφίεναι τινά, as we read in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (385)—

ταύτης Κρέων ὁ πιστός, οὐξ ἀρχῆς φίλος,
λάθρα μ' ὑπελθὼν ἐκβαλεῖν ἰμείρεται,
ὑφεῖς μάγον τοῖόνδε μηχανορράφον.

Now it is exactly in this way that the services of Neoptolemos are used; he is put forward, as Odysseus explains to him (70 foll.), because he is an unsuspected person; this is the imposition which Philoktetes resents (1007)—

οἷ' αὖ μ' ὑπήλθες, ὥς μ' ἐθηράσω, λαβὼν
πρόβλημα σαυτοῦ παῖδα τόνδ' ἀγνώτ' ἐμοί—

and this is the imposition which the chorus, on grounds of patriotism, excuse. To the accident that ὑφημοσύνη is not

extant, I attach, I will say plainly, no importance whatever, unless it can be maintained that we should doubt how to translate it if we found it; for I am convinced that in the cautious use of analogy lies our only way to the truth out of many a perplexity, and we have the analogy both of *ἐφημοσύνη* and of *μεθημοσύνη*. Here the hypothetical *ὑφημοσύνη* will explain everything, the case of *τοῦδε*, the connection with the context, and the unusual form, for nothing but a verbal noun derived from *ὑφίημι* would serve the supposed intention of the poet, and *ὑφεις*, *ἔφεις*, *κάθεις* are from a more prosaic repertory. The substitution of *ἐφημοσύνη*, familiar from its occurrence in the received text of Homer, would be almost inevitable.

The employment of *ἀφροσύνη* in Eur. *Tro.* 990, has no bearing upon the present question—

ὁ σὸς δ' ἰδὼν νιν νοῦς ἐποιήθη Κύπρις·
τὰ μῶρα γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτῃ βροτοῖς,
καὶ τοῦνομ' ὀρθῶς ἀφροσύνης ἄρχει θεᾶς.

Etymology knows nothing of literary associations. It would be satisfactory to think that the last pedantic and ill-expressed couplet was an Alexandrine note upon the grand verse which precedes it, but as 990 is cited by Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* as an example of the *τόπος ἀπὸ ὀνόματος*, or play upon a name, and double interpolation is scarcely to be supposed, it must remain among the proofs that Euripides was misled by a fashion for which he had little sympathy or approbation.

Lastly, in *Iph. Taur.* 439, we must allow an exception; the adjective *δεσπόσυνος* appears to be used without such other peculiarities as we should expect to attend it. Iphigenia (in 354) regrets that chance has not brought her enemies, Menelaos or Helen, to the fatal Tauric shore, to die by her hand, and her servants echo her wish:—

εἰθ' εὐχαῖσι δεσποσύνοισι
Λήδας Ἑλένα φίλα
παῖς ἐλθούσα τύχοι.

Would that our mistress' prayer might bring hither Helen! Xenophon (see *Lex. s.v.*) has the adjective in prose, which shows that by his day it had acquired a certain vogue, though by no

means that it would not have been avoided by a purist in Attic. It may well have been introduced by the slaves, large numbers of whom must have first spoken Greek in Asia, and may have been passed here as a piece of slave language. I need perhaps hardly observe that to accept this explanation for the *Iphigenia* need not affect our opinion in the case of the *Choephoroe* (I. p. 269): there is hardly a line in the later play which could be fitted into the earlier so as to escape observation.

I have now examined every certain example in tragedy which I have been able to discover. Most of them give strong support to the position that from Aeschylus to Euripides the forms in *-οσυνη -οσυνος* were not of the common Attic currency, but were used with consciousness of their Ionian origin for special effects; the few cases which do not furnish positive evidence for this view have been shown to be not inconsistent with it.

But if the Athenian poets admitted in their plays certain very convenient words, under conditions of style determined by contemporary usage and not to be perceived by a foreign or an inattentive reader, imitators of those poets would certainly adopt the convenience and ignore the conditions. It is easy to show that this actually occurred. When Euripides wrote the first and fourth epistles to Archelaos he no doubt took down his private copy of his own plays, and finding there both *μεγαλοφροσύνη* and *φιλοφροσύναι*, addressed to the monarch these elegant observations:—

τοὺς δ' ἄλλους [ἐνομίζομεν] αὐτὸ τοῦτο δὴ καὶ μάλιστα
συκοφαντεῖν ἐπιχειρήσειν ὥς ἐπίδειξιν οὖσαν τὸ πρᾶγμα.....
οὐ μεγαλοφροσύνην οὐδεμίαν.

καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς κατὰ τέχνας σπουδαζομένους...μετακαλεῖσθαι σε πανταχόθεν, καὶ χορηγίαις τῶν ἐπιτηδεύων ἀφθόνοις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις φίλοφροσύναις τημελεῖν.

Whether the poet wished to play the courtier in the newest fashion, or forgot for the moment that *φιλοφροσύναι* was sheer rhapsody, or thought rhapsody as good as prose for a barbarian like Archelaos, are questions which we need not decide. That he should have offered to his Athenian audience the line—

οὔκουν ἐάσω σ' ἀφροσύνη τῇ σῇ θανεῖν.—*Iph. A.* 1431,

might surprise us more, if it were not that all the latter part at least of the *Iphigenia at Aulis* must either have been written by Euripides in his sleep, or freely recast and interpolated by other hands, and if it were not that 1431, with most of the scene in which it occurs, has been banished or suspected by editors quite unsuspecting of ἀφροσύνη. For the same reason we shall not be too careful to consider 761 of the same play—

τὰν Κασσάνδραν ἔν' ἀκούω
ρίπτειν ξανθοὺς πλοκάμους
χλωροκόμφ στεφάνῳ δάφνας
κοσμηθεῖσαν, ὅταν θεοῦ
μαντόσυνοι πνεύσωσ' ἀνάγκαι.

It is quite possible that Euripides might put a touch of Epic colour into a Trojan theme, though it is not after his manner, as we have already seen, to give one such dab in a composition otherwise as plain as need be. But what is the use of discussing subtleties of Attic and Ionic with an author who in 782 writes πολὺκλαυτος ἐσείται, and in 789—

στήσουσι παρ' ἰστοῖς
μυθεῖσθαι τὰδ' ἐς ἀλλήλας?

Of course this has been emended, but the whole composition is hopeless. We may, no doubt, save the credit of the first strophe and antistrophe in the ode, including the lines on Cassandra, by rejecting the remainder (so the *Poetae Scenici*, ed. 1865); but who is to warrant that the author of the completion left the commencement untouched, or that the whole is not a mere compilation, a little more successful in one part than in the other? Such feather evidence is not worth putting into the scale. So again upon Soph. *Trach.* 1264—1278 we read that 'suspicions have been entertained, not without reason, of the genuineness of the concluding anapaestics assigned to Hyllos. The rule, observed in nearly all the extant tragedies, was for the chorus to utter two or three or more sententious anapaestic verses in concluding the subject of the drama.' These suspicions will certainly not be weakened by such an opening as this—

αἶρετ', ὁπαδοί, μεγάλην μὲν ἐμοὶ
τούτων θέμενοι συγγνωμοσύνην,

μεγάλην δὲ θεοῖς ἀγνωμοσύνην
εἰδότες ἔργων τῶν πρᾶσσομένων.

No one who studies the efforts which have been made to justify this language as that of Sophokles will be sorry to be absolved from the necessity of doing so.

In all these cases the fact of forgery, interpolation, or meddling of some kind has been sufficiently plain without the fresh evidence which I adduce. But there are one or two others, equally obnoxious to criticism from our new point of view, upon which scrutiny has not yet been directed. These we must now examine, and I think I can promise the reader some curious results. In dramatic literature there is no more effective cause of corruption than the carelessness or necessities of actors, and with regard to Euripides in particular we know that the text suffered from this kind of injury, and that the ancient critics endeavoured to protect and restore it (*Scholia to Eur. Med.* 228). The remodelling of which the closing scenes of the *Trachiniae* and the *Aias* show traces was probably made for spectacular purposes. But there is in Greek drama one kind of device specially liable to suspicion on this ground, the 'tag,' namely, or cue, which sometimes serves as a passage from a choral ode or other interlude to a fresh scene. Half-a-dozen lines announcing the approach of the new person or persons might often save an awkward pause and make things easy to an indolent audience. It is remarkable, to say the least, that three such passages offend against the custom of the tragedians in the use of the Ionic abstract—

- (1) καὶ μὴν ὅδε σὸς ξύγγονος ἔρπει
ψήφῳ θανάτου κατακυρωθεῖς,
ὃ τε πιστότατος πάντων Πυλάδης

1016 ἰσάδελφος ἀνὴρ ἰθύνων νοσερὸν
κῶλον Ὀρέστου

ποδὶ κηδοσύνῳ παράσειρος.—Eur. *Orestes*, 1013–1018.

It is of course plain that 1016 as it stands was not written by Euripides. The usual expedient for rectifying it has been to assume the loss of πέλας, τοῦδ', or some other metrical equivalent before ἰθύνων, and to omit (with only one MS of importance) Ὀρέστου in 1017. But the mention of Orestes is natural, not

to say necessary, and νοσερόν κῶλον without the genitive is hardly intelligible. Moreover there are at least four opinions (probably many more) as to what the word inserted before ἰθύνων should be, a tolerably plain indication that none is desirable. We shall do better to observe the abundant reasons for assigning the whole not to Euripides, but to a very different workman, who may have written it as it stands. The strange construction ψήφῳ θανάτου κατακυρωθεὶς has attracted attention before; considering that it is the vote and not the person which is the object of *ratification*, the classical idiom suggests or demands ψήφον. But the substitution of the dative for the accusative in these its more subtle uses has other examples in later Greek, for instance, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, viii. 5, οἵτινες ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ λατρεύουσι τῶν ἐπουρανίων. If the meaning be (as is scarcely to be doubted) *whose service is a figure and shadow of the heavenly*, Euripides would have written ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιάν. Then ἰσάδελφος—that Euripides could not have used this word I should not like to assert, but I can find no parallel to it of any date within a century of his; and that it is characteristic of late Greek as opposed to classical can be distinctly proved. If the dictionaries are to be trusted, the compounds of ἴσος in classical writers *relate always to equality proper*, that is, to equality between things which can be measured—heights, lengths, forces and the like—and *not to mere resemblance*. The question is complicated by the fact that the scholiasts and glossologers, so well known to them was the difference between the use of the ancients and that of their own time, regularly explain the classical compounds of ἀντι-, which signify resemblance as distinct from equality, by similar compounds of ἴσος. Thus on ἀντίδουλος, Aesch. *Cho.* 135; ἀντίπετρος, Soph. *O. E.* 192; and ἀντίλυρος, id., *Trach.* 643; the interpreters give ἰσόδουλος, ἰσόπετρος, ἰσόλυρος. In default, therefore, of classical examples which do not allow the reading ἀντι-, we cannot be sure that ἰσο- is not a gloss or a careless substitution of the later form; in one such case, Aesch. *P. V.* 549, ἰσόνειρον, the long syllable is actually required, and ἀντόνειρον, has accordingly been restored by Reisig. (That Aeschylus should have imitated the Homeric ἰσόθεος in a non-Epic word appears to me wholly improbable.) So in Eur. *Or.* 200, Porson reconstructed from the MSS the line δλόμεθ'

ἰσονέκυ' ὀλόμεθα, but the metre of the strophic line, τὸν Ἀγαμεμνόνιον ἐπὶ δόμον, equally admits the reading ἀντινέκυε. Pollux (see Soph. *frag.* 329) cites as from Sophokles' *Κρεῖζα* the word ἰσοθάνατος, but pronounces it οὐ πᾶν ἀνεκτόν. As to the general difference between the earlier and later uses there is no doubt whatever. We have ἰσόδενδρος αἰών (Pindar) a life *as long* as a tree's; πορφύρας ἰσάργυρος κηκίς (Aeschylus) purple *weighed* or valued against silver; ἰσοτράπεζος κάκκαβος (Antiphanes) a pot *as big* as the table; ἰσομάτωρ ἀμνός (Theokritos) a lamb *as big* as its mother; ἰσόπαις, ἰσόπρεσβυς ἰσχὺς (Aeschylus) *strength* equal to a boy's or an old man's; ἰσοκίνδυνος (Thucydides) *strong* enough for the danger; ἀρχὴ ἰσοτύραννος a government of despotic force (?) (Aristotle). Even ἰσόνειρος, ἰσόνεκος, and ἰσοθάνατος, if they were of certain authority, might be derived from the idea of weight, and rendered *light* (i.e. unsubstantial), as *dreams, ghosts, or death*. But we must descend to the ecclesiastical writers, the lexicographers, and the scholiasts for ἰσάστερος *star-like*, ἰσόφυλος *wood-like*, ἰσόπτερος *swift as a wing*, &c. So a Greek of the fifth or fourth century might say ἰσομήκης, ἰσοπαχής, ἰσοσθενής, but not ἰσογνώμων (Cyril). The Homeric ἰσόθεος probably meant in the first place *a match for gods* in strength and stature, and afterwards, or at the same time, *the equal of gods* in rank, an idea indeed not very clearly marked off from the other. So Aeschylus calls Darius μακαρίτης ἰσοδαίμων βασιλεὺς, and Thucydides has ἰσοδαίσιος *living as an equal*, metaphors having a physical analogy in ἰσοχειλὴς (liquid) *level with the rim*. In Aesch. *Ag.* 1470, the reading ἰσόψυχον is as uncertain as the interpretation (see notes there). In Sophokles, *fr.* 334, is mentioned an insect called ὄνος ἰσόσπριος, but, apart from the doubt between ἰσόσπριος and ἀντόσπριος, there is no reason why the epithet should refer to the shape of the creature, and not rather to its size. Now ἰσάδελφος, *brotherly*, is of the late type, the type of ἰσάστερος and ἰσογνώμων, and when we find this unique example along with ψήφω θανάτου κατακυρωθεὶς we can but remark that it is in very appropriate company. But further, a tragedian with such a leaning to Alexandrine or post-Alexandrine grammar and morphology would naturally prefer the prosody of the same epoch, and would find no difficulty in abbreviating the ι of ἰθύνω as 'a late poet in the Anthology'

(see Liddell and Scott *s.v.*) actually does. We cannot, perhaps, attribute to an educated Greek of any period the abbreviation of the *υ*, and may reasonably hope that he wrote *ιδύων*. Euripides, indeed, would have found this anapaest little better than the other, but as Nicander, for example, abbreviates *θύω* it would be unkind to quarrel with an anapaestic *ιδύων* in the author of *ποδὶ κηδοσύνῳ παράσειρος*. It is a pleasure to believe that the poet of the *Medea* and the *Bacchae* is not to be loaded with this wonderful metaphor, which is *ἀδελφός* if not *ισάδελφος* to the rest of the passage.

(2) The intrusion of *ἀβροσύνη* in 349 of the same play is a mark that the cue which introduces the entrance of Menelaos was supplied by the same ingenious hand.

καὶ μὴν βασιλεὺς ὅδε δὴ στείχει
 Μενέλαος ἄναξ, πολλῇ ἀβροσύνῃ
 δῆλος ὀρᾶσθαι
 τῶν Τανταλιδῶν ἐξ αἵματος ὦν.
 ὦ χιλιόναυν στρατὸν ὀρμήσας
 ἐς γῆν Ἀσίαν
 χαῖρ', εὐτυχίᾳ δ' αὐτὸς ὀμιλεῖς
 θεόθεν πρᾶξας ἄπερ ἠύχου.

The detection of this interpolation would have been less easy but for the strong presumption supplied by the other. To say the truth, our poet rises to such a very unambitious height that he has hardly room to hang himself. He has not however escaped altogether. The rhythm of *πολλῇ ἀβροσύνῃ* (—υ—υ—υ—) is a monster in Euripides, and it is not likely that he would have abbreviated either the *η* or the *α*, though some justification might be found for each. The usual escape has been correction, but nothing even plausible has been suggested, and the words are in point of sense perfectly right. Or rather they are as right as anything short of expelling *ἀβροσύνη* would make them. For it would be easy to show that, in the language of Euripides and his compeers, to apply this word or any of its kindred to a Greek and a soldier, particularly when alluding to his *Asiatic* descent, would have been little short of an insult, which the chorus, who have the instant before professed their utter loyalty and devotion to the house of Tantalos, certainly did not intend. The imitator found *ἀβροσύνη* some-

where in his *Euripides*, and did not see that it was used with an emphasis, an Asiatic word for an Asiatic thing. It is curious to notice, not as a proof of forgery, but as an illustration of its many perils, that in the lines which the interpolation follows and imitates the expression is

τίνα γὰρ ἔτι πάρος οἶκον ἄλλον
ἕτερον ἢ τὸν ἀπὸ θεογόνων γάμων,
τὸν ἀπὸ Ταντάλου σέβεσθαι με χρή ;

The imitator, for the convenience of his metre, writes ἐξ αἵματος ὦν, not ἀπὸ, and it is quite credible that he might have justified this from that complete *Euripides* which we are not likely to see ; but so far as our evidence extends the expression ἐξ αἵματος εἶναι was not so Euripidean as ἀφ' αἵματος εἶναι, for there is no clear instance of ἐξ (ἐξ αἵματος γεγόναμεν, Aesch. *Theb.* 141, may be distinguished), while ἀπὸ occurs repeatedly (*Soph. O. C.* 245, ὥς τις ἀφ' αἵματος ὑμετέρου, *Eur. Or.* 198, *Alc.* 509, 638). In *Ion* 693 the reading is doubtful.

(3) Of the third case to which I refer I would not be understood to speak confidently. It occurs in the *Antigone*, 376-383.

ἐς δαιμόνιον τέρας ἀμφινοῶ
τόδε, πῶς εἰδὼς ἀντιλογήσω
τήνδ' οὐκ εἶναι παῖδ' Ἀντιγόνην.
ὦ δύστηνος καὶ δυστήνου
πατὴρ Οἰδιπόδα,
τί ποτ' ; οὐ δὴ πού σέ γ' ἀπιστοῦσαν
τοῖς βασιλείοισιν ἄγουσι νόμοις
καὶ ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ καθελόντες ;

For ἀφροσύνη here I do not see any reason ; intentional Ionism is out of the question, and the ideas being rather commoner than commonplace, it is impossible to plead, as in the case of ὑψημοσύνη (or ἐφημοσύνη) in the *Philoktetes*, the necessities of the thought. That this peculiarity should present itself in lines so similar to the manifest interpolations of the *Orestes* is a very curious coincidence, and if these anapaests contain little that Sophokles might not have written, they assuredly contain nothing which wanted a Sophokles to write it. As a matter of taste, if taste were a safe ground for criticism, we might well prefer that the excited soldier and his prisoner

should enter without announcement, as Kreon does, for example, in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (512). The lines on the whole are a trifle better than those in the *Orestes*, but they are not nearly as good as the burden in the *Choephoroe* (see Vol. I. p. 269), and all imitation need not be equally unsuccessful. After all, the author, Sophokles or not, has little to boast of, for his carelessness goes to every length short of downright solecism. The use of the colloquial and somewhat irreverent exaggeration *divine miracle* for *strange wonder* is in the style of Aristophanes and Plato's dialogues, but not of the tragedians, and no place could be less suitable for it than this. In tragedy *δαιμόνιος*, which is quite common, always has its proper sense, *belonging to or proceeding from the gods*, and *τέρας* is not a *wonder* merely, but a *prodigy*, such as the sphinx or the golden ram. Then again what does *καθελόντες* mean? Evidently *having caught or seized*. But why does Sophokles here prefer the usage of the Ionic Herodotos and the semi-Attic Xenophon to that of Aeschylus, Sophokles himself, Euripides, Thucydides, Aristophanes, Plato, Demosthenes, who are apparently agreed that *καθελεῖν* means *to pull down, destroy* (or in legal parlance *to condemn*)? Sophokles very likely adopted this language with great propriety elsewhere, just as he certainly adopted *ἀφροσύναι*: but why here? Again, *τοῖς βασιλεῦσι νόμοις* means, I presume, *the king's orders*. But *νόμος*, in the literary language of the fifth century, signifies not orders, but *customs* or *principles*, the parent and not the offspring of authority. It is needless to illustrate so familiar a fact. Not even the gods create *νόμοι*, but act by them. It will perhaps be thought that this is a small confusion. But small or not I cannot match it, and there is special reason against it in the *Antigone*. The very point upon which the play centres is the desire of the tyrannical king to make his *fiat*, his personal command, overbear certain *νόμοι* or established principles of morality. He himself indeed seeks to justify his command by reference to other *principles*, with which he declares them to be *consistent*,

τοιούσδ' ἐγὼ νόμοισι τήνδ' αὔξω πόλιν
καὶ νῦν ἀδελφὰ τῶνδε κηρύξας ἔχω,

(191), but he dares not speak of 'my principles' (*ἐμοὶ νόμοι*), nor do his subservient subjects call them 'his,' nor does

Antigone. Such language is indeed somewhat painfully avoided. At 447 foll. Professor Campbell paraphrases thus, 'Knew you of *the edict* that forbade this deed? I knew. And were you then so hardy as to outstep *our law*?' (the italics are mine)—falling almost inevitably into the phrase which the original escapes,

ἤδης τὰ κηρυθέντα μὴ πράσσειν τᾷδε ; . . .
καὶ δῆτ' ἐτόλμας τοῦσδ' ὑπερβαίνειν νόμους ;

It is a little surprising to hear the chorus in the interval between the two passages last cited talk in an off-hand way about 'disobeying the king's principles.' Why again in a passage of simple Attic have we the Doric genitive Οἰδιπόδα? When Sophokles wrote thus he may very well have written ἀφροσύνη too. I believe myself that the lines are interpolated, though they may very likely be much older, as they are certainly less offensive, than the similar cues in the *Orestes*.

Since, however, ἀφροσύνη undoubtedly became in the end a common Attic word, and together with its contrary σωφροσύνη must have been among the earliest to find its way through ethical speculation into general use, there is no one of the Ionic abstracts which we should be less surprised to find in the tragedians already divorced from its original associations. All the more remarkable is it if, as a fact, there is hardly an indisputable case. I find but one more instance, which occurs in the dialogue between Kadmos and Agave concerning the body of Pentheus, Eur. *Bacch.* 1297-1305.

- ΑΓ. Διόνυσος ἡμᾶς ὤλεσ' ἄρτι μανθάνω.
ΚΑ. ὕβριν γ' ὑβρισθεῖς. θεὸν γὰρ οὐχ ἡγεῖσθέ νιν.
ΑΓ. τὸ φίλτατον δὲ σώμα ποῦ παιδὸς πάτερ ;
1300 ΚΑ. ἐγὼ μόλις τόδ' ἐξερευνήσας φέρω.
ΑΓ. ἥ πᾶν ἐν ἄρθροισι συγκεκλημένον καλῶς ;
Πενθεῖ δὲ τί μέρος ἀφροσύνης προσῆκ' ἐμῆς ;
ΚΑ. ὑμῖν ἐγένεθ' ὅμοιος, οὐ σέβων θεόν.
τοιγὰρ ξυνῆψε πάντας ἐς μίαν βλάβην,
1305 ὑμᾶς τε τόνδε θ', ὥστε διολέσθαι δόμους.

The *Bacchae* was one of the very latest of Euripides' plays, and the use of ἀφροσύνη as a common word may be only another indication of the date. But it is strange that once

more we are conducted *δαιμονία τινὶ τύχη* to a passage which has perplexed criticism and of which nothing can be said with certainty except that *as it stands* it did not proceed from its alleged author. In all recent texts the mark of a lacuna will be found between 1301 and 1302, and I agree with Professor Paley that several lines would probably be required to fill up the abrupt gap to the smoothness of Euripidean dialogue. The transition from 1298 to 1299 is very little better. The grammar of 1301 is odd (*ἐν ἄρθροισι*), not to mention the sense, and *συνκλήω*, to connect, appears to have parallels only in writers of a later generation, Plato, Xenophon, and Isokrates, though in other senses the verb is found in Euripides and his contemporaries. Then again 1302 itself is superfluous, not to say absurd, as it asks a question which has already been answered in 1294—

ἐκερτόμει θεὸν σάς τε βακχείας μολών.

If the body of Pentheus was *πᾶν ἐν ἄρθροισι συγκεκλημένον καλῶς*, the description of it certainly is not. If we were bound to have a theory on the subject, one way of restoring the continuity—quite as probable, I think, as any other—would be to omit as spurious 1299–1303 inclusive, thus—

ΑΓ. Διόνυσος ἡμᾶς ὤλεσ'. ἄρτι μανθάνω.

ΚΑ. ὕβριν γ' ὕβρισθεις. θεὸν γὰρ οὐχ ἡγείσθ' ἐνιν.

[ΑΓ. τὸ φίλτατον δὲ σῶμα τοῦ παιδὸς, πάτερ;

ΚΑ. ἐγὼ μόλις τόδ' ἐξερευνήσας φέρω.

ΑΓ. ἥ πᾶν ἐν ἄρθροισι συγκεκλημένον καλῶς.

Πενθεὺς δὲ τί μέρος ἀφροσύνης προσῆκ' ἐμῆς;

ΚΑ. ὑμῖν ἐγένεθ' ὅμοιος, οὐ σέβων θεόν.]

τοίγαρ ξυνήψε πάντας ἐς μίαν βλάβην.

The insertion might again be accounted for as actor's work. Agave, we know, afterwards pronounced a *θρήνος* over the several limbs of the body (see notes on 1330), though the passage is not in our copies, and we have no means of criticizing its genuineness. An express reference at this point to the body and its condition would be a convenient sign for the necessary stage-dispositions. It will be seen that the lines in brackets contain just this reference and no more, with a clumsy return to the point of departure. The detailed criticism of the *Bacchae* however is out of our present scope. It is sufficient

to point out that any evidence drawn from this passage must remain utterly uncertain.

Uncertain also, or something below uncertainty, is the following from the *Helena* (381 foll.)—

ἄν τέ ποτ' Ἄρτεμις ἐξεχορεύσατο,
 χρυσοκέρατ' ἔλαφον, Μέρωπος Τιτανίδα κούραν
 καλλοσύνας ἔνεκεν.

The heroine compares the vicarious penalty inflicted for her beauty upon Troy with that which other famous women of old story suffered in their persons, being changed by amorous or jealous gods into the shapes of animals. I am not prepared to discuss the criticism of the whole passage, and I ought perhaps to dismiss it with the remark that *καλλοσύνη* is natural enough in a fragment apparently taken word for word from some version of the story in hexameters. But this extract of 'Metamorphoses' (*Hel.* 375-385), with its frigid allusions and artificial jargon, is so distasteful to me that I cannot resist the pleasure of pointing out what I take for a little sign that it is not the work of my favourite poet. We are told to render 381 thus, 'She too whom Artemis once thrust forth from the dance on account of her beauty.' What the dance was, or why it is mentioned, no one pretends to guess; but let that pass. Let it also be assumed (though it is but barely possible) that Ovid, when he wrote of Callisto, *deque suo jussit* (Diana) *decedere coetu*, actually intended to render *ἐξεχορεύσατο*, which he had here or elsewhere seen. I shall still ask for evidence that the verb ever had or could have the meaning assigned to it. *ἐκχορεύειν*, as numberless analogies show, might in classical Greek signify either *to make to dance out*, or *to make to dance violently*, the force of the preposition being in the one case local, in the other intensive; *ἐκβακχεύω*, for example, has both of these significations. Or again, if we found such an expression as *ἐκχορεύειν χόρον*, *to disband a chorus*, we might possibly justify or at least interpret it by parallels drawn from *Alexandrine* or *post-Alexandrine* writers, but not from classical. Thus we find (I rely upon the lexicon) *ἐκχωνεύειν*, *to unmint*, melt down coin for the purpose of recoinng it (Dion Cassius); *ἐκσαγηνεύειν*, *to unnet*, take out of the toils (Plutarch); *ἐκπαρθενεύειν*, *to unmaiden*, deflower (Scholiast to Lucian); *ἐκπολιτεύειν*,

to deconstitute, revolutionize (Septuagint); ἐκδιφρεῖν, to dis-chariot (cp. dis-bench, dis-bar), throw from a chariot (Lucian). But neither late nor early do we find anything resembling ἐκχορεύειν τινα, to dis-dance or dis-chorus a person, and indeed such a mode of speaking seems to me utterly fatuous and unimaginable. The reader may foresee whereto all this tends. For the third time (see p. 187 *supra*) we must restore the rare κορεύω for the common χορεύω and read—

ἄν τέ ποτ' Ἄρτεμις ἐξεκορεύσατο
χρυσοκέρατ' ἔλαφον, κ.τ.λ.—

She whom Artemis did once for her beauty's sake dismaiden, that is, deprived of her maiden form by changing her to a deer. This is plain sense, and it is Greek,—of a kind, for the analogy of ἐκπαρθενεύειν and ἐκπολιτεύειν is precise (see also Liddell and Scott s. vv. ἐκκορέω and κορένομαι: the last is, by its sense, almost certainly a mistaken reading for ἐκκορεύομαι). But whether it is the Greek of Euripides is another matter. Isaeos is said to have used ἐκπλινθεύω, to take bricks out—this is the best support I can find, and a sorry one it is in every way. Aristotle has ἐξομηρεύειν τινά, to take hostages of a man, but the comparison of ἐξορκούν, ἐξορκίζειν raises a doubt whether ἐξ- has here its privative sense at all. Besides, Aristotle and Euripides are scarce cater-cousins. It is noticeable that verbs of any form made with ἐκ- or ἐξ- privative are rare in the classical period; there is ἐκσκευάζειν χωρίον, to strip a farm of its moveables (Demosthenes); ἐξικμάζειν and ἐξυγραίνεισθαι, to dry (Aristotle and Theophrastos); ἐκλωπίζω, to strip (Sophokles); and a set of unsavoury compounds from the comedians and physicians, ἐκποκίζειν, ἐκκορίζειν, ἐκκοιλίζειν, ἐκπνεῖν, ἐκκοπρεῖν. All these describe the removal of something material, and the preposition retains, as in ἐκκαλύπτω, which is of course perfectly classical, a local sense. Euripides himself has (*fr.* 545)—

ἡμεῖς δὲ Πολύβου παῖδ' ἐρείσαντες πέδῳ
ἐξομματοῦμεν καὶ διόλλυμεν κόρας.

But what a difference in clearness, simplicity, and everything which distinguishes pure idiom, between ἐξομματόω and ἐκκορεύω!

The history of this verb *κορεύω* is extremely instructive, as showing the great danger of negative arguments based upon mere *absence of evidence*. The sole example of it cited in the lexicon is Eur. *Alc.* 313. Yet we see—if I have satisfied the reader—that it is to be found in at least three other places under the disguise of the more familiar *χορεύω*. It is obvious that if the *Alcestis* had perished, or if in *Alc.* 313 *χορευθήσει* had given the least appearance of sense, we should have been left without a single instance of *κορεύω* except such as criticism, proceeding upon the analogy of *παῖς* : *κόρος* (*κόρη*) : : *παιδεύω*, might have recovered for us. What would have been the just value in that case of the objection that we must not invent words?

However, I must go back to my theme, and take up the next and last example with which we are directly concerned.

- ὦ γάμος ὦ γάμος, ὃς τάδε δώματα
καὶ πόλιν ὤλεσας ὤλεσας ἄμάν,
αἰαῖ αἰαῖ. ὦ παῖ,
μήποτε σὼν λεχέων τὸ δυσώνυμον
1190 ὄφελ' ἐμὸν γένος ἐς τέκνα καὶ δόμον
ἀμφιβαλέσθαι
'Ερμιόνας Αἶδαν ἐπὶ σοί, τέκνον,
ἀλλὰ κεραυνῷ πρόσθεν ὀλέσθαι,
μηδ' ἐπὶ τοξοσύνῃ φονίῳ πατρός
1195 αἶμα τὸ διογενές ποτε Φοῖβον
βροτὸς ἐς θεὸν ἀνάψαι (Eur. *Androm.* 1186 foll.).

This is the second part of a lament in two strophæ with which Peleus receives the body of Neoptolemos brought back from Delphi, where Orestes has caused him to be murdered for the sake of his wife Hermione. The chorus announce its approach in the usual anapæsts,

καὶ μὴν ὄδ' ἀναξ ἤδη φοράδην
Δελφίδος ἐκ γῆς δῶμα πελάζει, κ.τ.λ.

The quotation is one of the toughest morsels in the *Poetae Scenici*. I transcribe the note of a recent English editor upon 1189. 'These words are difficult. Hermann gives ὄφελ' ἐμὸν γέρας, κτλ., "would that the honourable privilege of her couch ill-omened (*Andromache*, ἡ ἀνδρὶ μαχομένη) to my son and

family had not brought with itself against you (Neoptolemus) the fate which Hermione designed against Andromache." In fewer words, "Would that your union with the captive Andromache, which was a γέρας ἐξαίρετον, v. 14, had not involved you in the death intended for her." Nothing indeed can be more harsh than a marriage "putting on death," i.e. bringing a fatal end on a person—unless it be the construing Ἑρμιόνας γένος instead of Ἑρμιόνας Ἄϊδαν, as Pflugk does . . . Matthiae gives quite a different sense, μήποτε ἐμὸν γένος σὼν λεχέων (Molossus, the child of Andromache by Neoptolemus) ὄφελεν, κτλ., "Would that my descendant had not caused (by Hermione's jealousy of Andromache's fruitfulness) Neoptolemus' death." W. Dindorf appears to acquiesce in this; and it seems hopeless to extract any better sense out of the words.' (Paley.) Here then we are offered a fair field, or even favour, for new suggestions. And first, as it is naturally upon Hermione that the thunder is invoked in 1193, and in such an antithesis as μὴ . . . ἀμφιβαλέσθαι ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν ὀλέσθαι a change of subject dislocates the syntax, we can hardly be wrong in writing Ἑρμιόναν ἄϊδαν ἐπὶ σοὶ. The use of ἐπὶ with the accusative to signify the purpose or end of an action is widespread, though not very common (see Lex. s.v.). In the *Ion* of Euripides, for instance, we find (1250)

πρόσπολοι, διωκόμεσθα θανάσιμον ἐπὶ σφαγὰς.

There is therefore no reason why in a careless piece of writing—and that, as we shall see, all this part of the *Andromache* is—ἄϊδαν ἐπὶ σοὶ, unto thy death, should not stand for ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ σῶ, the pronoun going of course grammatically with the whole sentence, though in sense with the words nearest to it. Such a freedom is not near the audacity of the imitator in the *Iphigenia in Aulis* (1269)—

οὐ Μενέλεώς με καταδεδούλωται, τέκνον,
οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ κείνου βουλόμενον ἐλήλυθα,

nor am I come unto his willing, i.e. to execute his will. The misapplication of ἐπὶ to σοὶ instead of to ἄϊδαν would readily cause the alteration of the case of Ἑρμιόναν. We may now perhaps find our way to a somewhat less harsh interpretation

of ἀμφιβαλέσθαι. When Hermann explained δυσώνυμον as referring to the ominous name Ἀνδρομάχη, he was remembering the δυστράπελος δυσώνυμος of Sophokles' Αἴας (914). But to follow the thought of Peleus, we should rather recall the δυσώνυμα λέκτρα, or *scandalous wedlock*, of Sophokles' Oedipus (Col. 528), and refer δυσώνυμος, not to *name*, but to the other sense of ὄνομα, *fame*. For the scandal of Neoptolemos' bed (τὸ σὼν λεχέων δυσώνυμον) is the very pith and matter of the play. He had married Hermione while still retaining under his roof (932) his Trojan wife Andromache and her child, and by this marriage incurred the hatred of Orestes, which, together with the anger of Phoebus, caused his destruction. The whole action turns upon the offence and danger of such double connexions (see especially the reflexions of the chorus, 464 foll.), and to illustrate this fully would be to copy out half the piece. Peleus, therefore, wishing to execrate the second alliance, could not do so more naturally than thus—μήποτε ὤφελεν Ἑρμιόνην ἀμφιβαλέσθαι τὸ δυσώνυμον σὼν λεχέων, *would that Hermione had ne'er taken upon her* (the only legitimate rendering of ἀμφιβάλλομαι) *the scandal of thy bed*. The metaphor may be a little affected, but it is not at all out of place here, where the author chose, with or without reason, to adopt (τοξοσύνη) a rhapsodical turn of language; for the metaphorical use of ἀμφιβάλλειν belongs to the old poetry (*Il.* xvii. 742) and is imitated in the dactylic couplets which occur in this same play (110). But what now is to become of the words ἑμὸν γένος ἐς τέκνα καὶ δόμον? In the sentence, as I have tried to explain it, there is only one possible construction for them: they must stand in apposition to τὸ δυσώνυμον σὼν λεχέων, defining and explaining the phrase. Now the scandal of Neoptolemos' matrimony lay, as we said, not in taking two women successively, but in the union of the two and the intended union of the double offspring in a single household. This was the essential description of it; and this I propose to find here by the alteration of ε to ο—ὅμῳ γένος ἐς τέκνα καὶ δόμον, *the common children and the common house* (more literally *the family common in respect of children and house*). The phrase ὅμῳ γένος is clipped, not without injury in the process, from the *Iliad* (xiii. 354),

ἧ μὲν ἀμφοτέροισιν ὅμῳ γένος, ἧδ' ἱα πάτρη,

so that here also our author with his τοξοσύνη and his ἀμφιβαλέσθαι is at all events *sui similis*. The whole will now stand thus—

μήποτε σῶν λεχέων τὸ δυσώνυμον
ὄφελ', ὁμὸν γένος ἐς τέκνα καὶ δόμον,
ἀμφιβαλέσθαι
Ἑρμιόναν αἶδαν ἔπι σοὶ, τέκνον,
ἀλλὰ κεραυνῶ πρόσθεν ὀλέσθαι.

The order of the sentence cannot conveniently be inverted, so I will change ἀμφιβαλέσθαι in translation—*Would that ere the scandal of thy bed, the common children and the common house, came upon Hermione to thy destruction, O my child, a thunder-bolt had sooner struck her dead!*

The sentence is not remarkable for elegance or perspicuity (neither is most of the scene); but, as far as I can see, it is perfectly good Greek, and in substance it expresses exactly the meaning required.

Whether this part of the *Andromache* has been touched by another hand than that of Euripides, and if so to what extent, are questions not to be settled off-hand, perhaps not determinable at all. Many critical difficulties would disappear if we could assume that the anapaests and the two strophæ assigned to Peleus (1166—1196) are due to unauthorised or hasty remodelling—the careless grammar of δῶμα πελάζει (1167), the homoeoteleuton κύρσας—συνέκυρσας (1171, 1172), the elision of the *αι* in λείπετ' ἐν οἴκοις (1178), and the *τιν*o cases (1174 = 1187 and 1180 = 1193) in which the dactylic metre of the strophe and antistrophe corresponds by feet only, and not by syllables, as generally in finished work. All or most of these have been removed by corrections, but when the number and the nature of the errors is considered it may be doubted whether we are not thus trying to rise above our fountain. In one case at least correction seems an unsatisfactory remedy. The MSS give in 1179—80,

ὦ σχετλιος παθέων ἐγὼ, ἐς τίνα
δὴ φίλον αὐγὰς βάλλων τέρψομαι;
ὦ φίλιον στόμα, κ.τ.λ.

and in the antistrophe,

Ἑρμιόνας Αἶδαν ἐπὶ σοι τέκνον
 ἀλλὰ κεραύνῳ πρόσθεν ὀλέσθαι·
 μηδ' ἐπὶ τοξοσύνῃ, κ.τ.λ.

Hermann, assuming the necessity of syllabic correspondence, wrote in the strophe—

ὦ σχέτλιος παθέων ἄρ' ἐγὼ φίλον
 ἐς τίνα βάλλων τέρψομαι αὐγὰς ;

But surely the order of the words in the MSS is natural and necessary, and the order given to them *metri gratia* quite perverse, not to mention the dubious ἄρα. Perhaps 'Euripides' was content with a correspondence by feet. I can but indicate here one line of argument, from which different critics might draw different conclusions. There are very good reasons for considering the authorship of this scene of the *Andromache* in connexion with the authorship of the *Rhesus*. It is not merely that in that play we have a scene almost exactly similar—the anapaests (*Rhes.* 882–889), the dirge in two strophæ of the mother, as here of the father, over the body of a son (*Rhes.* 895–903 and 906–914) separated, as here, by the choric couplet (*Rhes.* 904, 5, *Andr.* 1184, 5) and exhibiting like this the extremely rare word φοράδην (*Rhes.* 888, *Andr.* 1164). All this might be explained by the hypothesis of imitation. But it is strange, if the author of the *Rhesus* had no hand in the prelude and dirge of the *Andromache*, that he should reproduce from them in widely different places two remarkable peculiarities. The chorus in *Andr.* 1169 speak of the dead Neoptolemos as τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖον σκύμνον. Now Euripides does apply to human beings this name for the young of animals, but, as we should rather expect, it is the language of contempt and hatred. The Phrygian in the *Orestes* speaks of the destroyer of his race as *Helen, the evil chick of beauteous Leda's brood*, καλλοσύνας Λήδας σκύμνον δυσελέναν (1388), and in the same play Orestes proposes to catch the miscreant's cub (ἐλεῖν σκύμνον ἀνοσίλου πατρὸς), intending the capture of his enemy's daughter Hermione. It seems an attempt to get force at the expense of simplicity when the Phthiotæ are made to express compassion for their gallant old prince in the words,

δέχει γὰρ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖον
 σκύμνον ἐς οἴκους οὐχ ὥς σὺ θέλεις.

But we know one poet who would not have quarrelled with it, and that was the poet who wrote (*Rhes.* 381)—

μέγας ὦ βασιλεῦ, καλὸν, ὦ Θρήκη,
σκύμνον ἔθρεψας πολίαρχον ἰδεῖν.

To the same armoury of poetic weakness belongs *αὔγαι* for *ὀμμάτων αὔγαι* (*Andr.* 1180). Of this 'synonym for *ὀφθαλμοί*,' redolent of the *Gradus*, there were, I believe, until lately two examples only, this and the following from the *Rhesus* (736)—

τίς εἴ ποτ' ἀνδρῶν συμμάχων; κατ' εὐφρόνην
ἀμβλῶπες αὔγαι, κοῦ σε γυγνώσκω τορῶς.

We may now add a fragment in M. Weil's recently published papyrus—

Ῥαδάμανθυν, ὅσπερ ἄφθιτος παίδων ἐμῶν,
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν αὔγαῖς ταῖς ἐμαῖς ζόη σφ' ἔχει·
τὸ μὴ παρὸν δὲ τέρψιν οὐκ ἔχει φίλοις.

For I do not myself feel the least doubt that this is the right correction of the MS *αγαις* (*Rhein. Mus. N. F.* xxxv. 275, auctore Kock). However, a phrase already fortified by the *Rhesus* and the *Andromache* need not beg authority from a score of lines in a prologue of 'Euripides,' scribbled, one would think, as an imposition by an Egyptian school-boy who could not spell. And on the other hand not fifty prologues, if we had them, in Euripides' own autograph, need prevent us from whispering that *beams* for *eye-beams* is an objectionable licence, and well reserved for prologues, cues, and such like theatrical trimmings.

I have noticed two places—and others have probably escaped me—in which the Ionic form has been admitted or suggested as a correction. These should, I think, be reconsidered. In Aesch. *P. V.* 579, *ταῖσδ' ἐνέζευξας εὐρῶν ἀμαρτοῦσαν ἐν πημοναῖς*, the substitution of *πημοσύναις* for the MS *πημοναῖσιν*, involving the hypothesis of a word mysteriously lost from the antistrophe (ἀ μαραίνει με χρίουσα κέντροισι φοιτάλεος), depends entirely upon the presumption that *φοιτάλεος* could not have a long *a*. If this is the quantity which it has according to the MSS both here and in Eur. *Orest.* 327, the only two examples in tragedy, and in both places the quantity is the

real ground for suspicion, the presumption itself might be disputed. The correction, at all events, must appear doubtful when we see that both to Aeschylus and to Euripides *πημοσύναι* was a term of poetic medicine, and signified *disease* or *disorder*, for such a hint would effectually ruin the poetry of Io's complaint. In Aesch. *Supp.* 845, *δεσποσύνη* for the MS *δεσποσίη* will be a little less likely to obtain the admission which has not yet been accorded it.

I will now give a brief summary of our results. Of the examples extant in the tragedians of words in *-οσύνος*, *-οσυνή*, one, Eur. *Tro.* 988, in which *ἀφροσύνη* furnishes an etymological interpretation of *Ἀφροδίτη*, may for the present purpose be set aside. The remainder may be distributed thus—

I. Formal imitations of hexameter and elegiac poetry. *Tro.* 592; *Andr.* 109.

II. Reminiscences of the gnomic poets, ranging from direct quotation of whole lines down to translation or adaptation of phrases. *P. V.* 538; *O. C.* 1211, 1229; *Bacch.* 385, 885; *Med.* 635; Eur. *fr.* 490, 505, 848. Almost all of these appear independently certain, all of them by their mutual illustration.

III. Express references to the rhapsodists and rhapsodic poetry. *Med.* 422; *Ion* 1100; *H. F.* 679.

IV. Terms of invocation from the *ὑμνοί*. *Bacch.* 375; *Hipp.* 1365; Eur. *fr.* 447; *Phoen.* 190. The last passage forms a transition to

V. Passages of a religious character in which adaptation cannot be proved by internal evidence, but may be presumed upon the analogy of class IV. *Theb.* 111, 240; *Ant.* 148. I mean that *ταρβόσυνος φόβος*, *λησμοσύνην θέσθαι*, are probably old religious phrases, and chosen for their respective places on that ground.

VI. Passages in which the language generally is Epic, the subject being an incident from the Epos, and the poet having partly followed the style of the original. *Andr.* 1015, 1031; *Iph. T.* 1280. Under this head may be placed (whether they are the pure work of Euripides or no) the allusions in *Hel.* 383 and *Andr.* 1194.

VII. Terms of 'physic' connected with the Ionian schools, and used in speaking of them or their subjects—*πημοσύναι* certainly technical in Eur. *fr.* 902 and in Aesch. *P. V.* 1058 by

inference; ἀφροσύνη in a special physical sense, *Hipp.* 161; *τερμωσύνη*, *Soph. fr.* 658. By whom these terms had been used before we can only guess, but the evidence for their purely Ionic character is more than usually obvious (see Vol. I. p. 272).

VIII. Passages in which the author has expressly noted the fact that the speaker is an Asiatic, and the language is certainly or possibly adopted to the character, certainly in *Or.* 1388, 93, probably in *Hec.* 102, 447, 1294 (see however *Iph. T.* 439). With these may be placed *Pers.* 587.

IX. Genuine instances not falling under any of the above heads, and apparently *exceptions to the rule*: ἀπειροσύνη, *Med.* 1094, *Hipp.* 196; ἑφημοσύνη (ἐφημοσύνη), *Phil.* 1144. I have tried to show that the first two examples are really applications of the rule in a more subtle way, while the third is a true and very instructive exception, the word being borrowed from an unusual and as it were foreign vocabulary, only in order to express a peculiar and uncommon notion, for which no other word was at hand. *Iph. T.* 439.

X. Passages offending against the rule which have already been pronounced spurious or suspicious on other grounds; spurious: *Iph. A.* 1431; *Trach.* 1265, 1266; suspicious: *Iph. A.* 761; *Bacch.* 1302.

XI. Passages offending against the rule which have not been previously suspected, but are certainly or probably spurious; certainly: *Or.* 349, 1018; probably: *Ant.* 383; *Choeph.* 942. Let the reader consider the nature of these four passages, the resemblance of the first three, and the fact that every one is of such a kind that upon suspicion of interpolation the limits and cause of it can be at once assigned, and let him then estimate the probability that four passages chosen at hazard would exhibit these qualities, and he will perhaps think that these four could scarcely be saved from such a mutual impeachment if the internal evidence in the separate cases were as favourable as it is actually fatal.

But indeed upon the whole case the evidence of the exceptions seems overwhelming for the validity in some sense of the rule. The proposition is that a certain form had in the writers of a particular period a certain stylistic quality. This proposition, as asserting a tendency only, and that tendency liable

to fluctuation and progressively changing, might well be correct, not universally, but for the most part. Now out of fifty cases the inconformable cases cannot with every allowance be raised much above fifteen, and out of these from seven to nine must upon independent grounds be ejected altogether from the list. It is not a chimerical principle which will produce such a table as this; and if the principle is true, it is essential to the proper understanding and criticism of the tragedians, and may also, I hope, suggest a new and interesting chapter in the history of the language.

A word or two by way of note upon the former part of the paper. Mr. D. B. Monro, criticizing the first volume of this Journal in the *Academy*, suggested that I should do well to mark off carefully from the other examples those which, according to my distinction in Vol. I. p. 264, were 'recent or contemporary importations from the living Ionic.' I should have done better still not to mention them, though I did so *ex abundante cautela*; for upon consideration I believe that there are none, but that all the words in -οσυνη used by the tragedians were inherited from some *previous* form of Ionic or quasi-Ionic poetry, and carried, as a rule, associations not local merely but literary. I also wish to call attention to a curious lapse in the Troezenian poet, whose invocation to Hippolytus I give in Vol. I. p. 290. The writer, a recent rhapsodist, has been misled by the recollection of the Homeric *θεὸς ὧς* into lengthening the last syllable of *πάντας* before *ὅστε*, but this prosody is of no authority. The error does not affect the matter in hand.

A. W. VERRALL.

THE PENTATHLON

PROFESSOR GARDNER's article on this highly interesting subject in the last number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* gives so excellent a summary of its data, and reasons upon these data so judiciously, that the few remarks I venture to offer here are intended to be supplementary much rather than critical.

First, as to the ἄλμα, or Long Jump. Mr. Gardner says: 'ὕπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα πηδᾶν was proverbial for describing a long leap. What were these ἐσκαμμένα? The scholiast to Pindar (*Nem.* v. 34) says that after every leap a fork was drawn across to mark its length, so that he who leaps beyond all marks distances his rivals. This seems the natural explanation of the phrase.' Now the scholiast's words are, ἡ δὲ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πεντάθλων, οἷς σκάμματα σκάπτονται ὅταν ἄλλωνται ἐκείνων γὰρ κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα πηδῶντων ὑποσκάπτεται βόθρος ἐκάστου τὸ ἄλμα δεικνύς. Might not the last words, especially taken in conjunction with the ὑπὸ of the compound verb, mean, 'showing where each was to jump to' (or 'where each expected to jump to'), and thus agree with the explanation, also referred to by Mr. Gardner, that the ἐσκαμμένα were marked before the leaps were taken? This certainly seems implied in Pindar's lines themselves, and also by the order of the words in the scholiast who says of Phayllus τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ σκαπτόντων ἢ πόδας καὶ τούτους πηδῶντων. Our jumpers indeed do not seem to find such preparation needful on turf, though the practice of placing a sloped hurdle in front of them is not altogether unknown, and most fix their eyes on some spot toward which they spring in preference to hurling themselves quite vaguely into space. And when we consider what the hardness of the ground under the heat of a midsummer in Elis

must have been, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the *ἐσκαμμένα* were meant also to break the shock of alighting, as is done now by laying down loose earth when the jumping is on a cinder-path, as, *e.g.*, at Lillie Bridge. They would also somewhat facilitate the measurement after the leap of the distance covered. If such enormous distances as fifty feet were really cleared (as to which I fear we shall never feel absolutely satisfied, short of calling up some oral witness from the dead), all these three reasons would have additional force. I should incline, therefore, to suppose that each competitor, or at any rate the first who jumped, had a line drawn in front of him at a measured distance which he thought to be the greatest he had any chance of clearing, and the ground for a few feet within this broken up so as to soften the shock of his descent.¹

As to the order of the contests, Mr. Gardner, while recognising the necessity of placing the leap first, and the footrace and wrestling fourth and fifth, seems to hesitate somewhat whether or not to place throwing the spear in the third place, and after throwing the disk. The only reason for hesitation appears to be that in paintings on certain vases, of which Mr. Gardner gives a sample in Plate VIII. of the first volume of the journal, the spear-thrower is placed between the leaper and the disk-thrower.² But this, as Mr. Gardner himself observes, may very well be accounted for on artistic grounds (and indeed in the vase selected the disk-thrower, not the leaper, is in the first place

¹ Mr. J. B. Martin, President of the London Athletic Club, who was present when this paper was read at a meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, has since informed me that 29 ft. 7 in. were cleared by a running jump at Chester in 1854, and 13 ft. 7 in. by a standing jump at Manchester in 1875, 5 lb. weights (*ἀλτήρες*) being used in the first case and 23 lb. weights in the second. He also makes the somewhat bold suggestion that the *άλμα* may have been the Hop Step and Jump. He gives the best on record (without weights) as 49 ft. 3 in. (done at Harwich in 1861). This would approach the performance attributed to Phayllus. 40 ft. 2 in. were cleared

in this contest, without a run, in 1865.

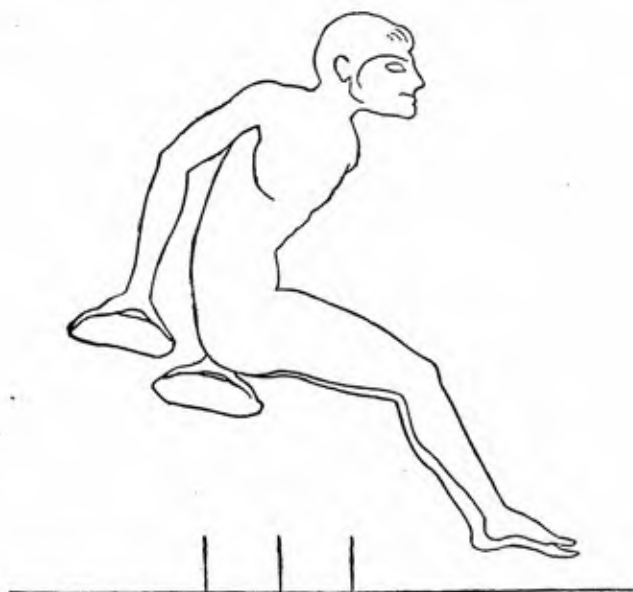
Mr. Martin adds: 'It has recently become a practice to place a handkerchief or piece of paper as a mark to be jumped at.'

Mr. Gardner has now shown me a vase in the British Museum on which he has just discovered three marks, plainly representing the *ἐσκαμμένα*, behind a leaper in the act of alighting. See cut opposite.

² Mr. Gardner refers to this vase as giving the attitudes of the athletes in action. But if the leap was taken standing, surely the leaper's feet would be together. And the disk-thrower does not 'frame' like Myron's.

as the figures pass). But that the spear-throwing came third is, I think, established not only by the passages cited from the scholiasts to Pindar and Sophocles, and from Eustathius, but also by the passage in the seventh Nemean ode, which is surely conclusive evidence if interpreted, as I should prefer, in a sense rather different from that given to it by Dr. Pinder and Mr. Gardner.

The latter says: 'The present passage only mentions one cause of stoppage (of the Pentathlon), the disqualification of a



competitor, not the more usual cause, the winning of three events by one of the contending athletes.' But surely it is this 'more usual cause' which is referred to in the latter part of the passage. To disqualify a competitor for the whole Pentathlon because of a single mistake in one of the five contests would have been very unfair, and also if so severe a penalty had been attached to the mistake, it would hardly ever have been committed—certainly not often enough to have been referred to as of familiar occurrence, which I think the frequentative aorist

may be taken to imply. And the whole tone of the passage would lead one to expect reference rather to triumph than to failure, to be applied perhaps literally to the athlete Sogenes, who had very possibly won the three first events consecutively, as well as metaphorically to Pindar, who indicates that having said the right thing he has said enough. The words in the last of these lines (*αἰθωνι πρὶν ἀλίφ γυῖον ἐμπεσεῖν*) viewed in connexion with the well-known Hellenic estimate of the sun's heat as one of the severest trials of the athlete at Olympia, seem to point the same way, as well, perhaps, as the word *ἐξέπεμψε*, to which the meaning of honourable escort or safe-conduct might be attached. Had Pindar meant discomfiting dismissal, *πέμπω* would hardly have been the word used.¹

Of the perplexing question how the contest was regulated and decided, Mr. Gardner's solution—that it was decided by drawing ties for a succession of single matches in the whole series of five contests, the odd event deciding each match—seems indisputably the best that can be offered. This, however, is not quite the same as to say that it is entirely satisfactory; and his article hardly seems to recognise the full force of one objection. This lies not merely in the length of time which would often be occupied by a series of sets of contests of five different kinds between successive competitors, but also in the extreme severity of such a succession of efforts. Mr. Gardner himself, when discussing a different point, observes, 'We cannot help wondering what sort of a throw with a spear an athlete could make after a bout or two of wrestling.' But this is just what must have happened, on Mr. Gardner's theory, almost inevitably at any period in the history of the Olympic games, quite inevitably (supposing more than two competitors to have entered), during the 59 Olympiads between the institution of the Pentathlon, and the assignment of more days than one to all the contests together. We can only fall back on the argument of the great powers of endurance which ten months' training must have produced (since it seems not to have overtrained) in men strong

¹ To prevent misconception of my meaning I will add that I translate the passage (*Nem.* vii. 70-73) thus: 'I swear that without overstepping the bound I have sent forth the swift

speech of my tongue as it were a bronze-headed javelin, such as saveth from the wrestling the strong neck sweatless yet, or ever the limbs be plunged in the sun's fire.'

enough to stand it. If it were to be still maintained that the first four events were contested by all competitors, the following two theories (for cases where no competitor won three events) would be at least less extremely improbable than those which Mr. Gardner discusses and rejects; either that an average of each man's performance in the five was struck, and the prize awarded accordingly, or that no prize at all was awarded. But there are of course serious objections to both these theories, and Mr. Gardner's remains far the most probable, though not, I fear, attaining absolute certainty.

It is hard to believe that any one should have doubted that to be an *ephedros* was simply to have drawn a bye, but since such doubt has indisputably been entertained, Mr. Gardner could not well omit to notice the phenomenon.

ERNEST MYERS.

NOTES AND RECTIFICATIONS, PAMPHYLIAN
INSCRIPTION.

IN a paper 'On some Pamphylian Inscriptions,' published in the first volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, p. 242, my principal object was to establish the value of the symbols Ψ and W in those inscriptions. I was able to bring many analogies for the value assigned to Ψ, viz. that of a palatal sibilant; but I could find no analogy outside of the Pamphylian inscriptions for the interpretation of W as being in some cases equivalent to the English *wu*. At the time I did not notice that the Pamphylian AWTO, explained as was suggested in my paper, afforded an exact parallel to a Naxian inscription, the interpretation given of which by Bentley was doubted by Kirchhoff, *Griech. Alph.* p. 73, solely because it was so singular. In the Naxian inscription the form [T]O AFYTO is given by Bentley as equivalent in meaning and scansion to the Attic ταῦτοῦ; in other words ἀFυτοῦ is a dissyllable. The Pamphylian form exactly confirms this interpretation; as I had argued that AWTO must be rendered by the English letters awuto and that it was a dissyllable. The two forms, therefore, each in itself somewhat singular and open to suspicion, when taken together make the interpretation quite certain.¹

The rest of the paper alluded to was devoted to the long inscription from Sillyon. Several of the interpretations proposed for difficult words were only desperate remedies; and especially the explanation of the first line, taking the adjective *ἑρὸς* in a sense not only unexampled but quite contrary to

¹ The foregoing note was sent to the Editor to be appended to the paper in Vol. I. but reached him too late.

Professor Jebb in the same journal, p. 59, has referred to the Naxian inscription.

analogy, cannot possibly be maintained. Its only justification was that the inscription seemed to begin with the first line of the published copy: but it is quite possible, and I think much more probable, that the inscription is continued on this stone, and that the beginning must be sought either on another stone or on another face of the same stone. I had hoped that an actual examination of the stone might reveal more; but a letter from Colonel Wilson has destroyed that hope. In January Colonel Wilson, during a brief visit to Assarkeui, took the trouble to prove on the stone the reading of several lines, the meaning of which was specially dark. His examination confirmed the accuracy of Hirschfeld's transcript in most cases, but occasionally he gives important corrections. In line 20 occurs the form **ΖΕΝΟΖΑΙ**. Kirchhoff's emendation, **ΖΕΝΟΔΑΙ** *i.e.* *γένονται*, was given in my paper, and Colonel Wilson informs me that the stone has **Δ** not **Ζ**. In line 15, I had to express doubt as to the reading **ΑΣΥΤΥ**, and I was glad to find that Colonel Wilson gives the reading **ΑΣΥΡΥ**. This of itself confirms the proposed interpretation of **Υ**: it is hardly necessary to remark that at the beginning of a word a **Υ** or a **F** before **P** is exactly what one might expect; though I cannot guess a word that would suit the place. In line 6 Colonel Wilson marks the loss of a letter **ΣΑΒΑ·ΤΙ**. In line 3 he puts a mark of interrogation at the **B** in **ΣΒΑΥΥ**. In line 2 he reads **ΙΑ** for **ΥΑ**.

The following extract from Colonel Wilson's letter is also of interest. 'The inscription is on the right jamb of the entrance to a building which was either converted into a church or built as one; I rather think the former, but the brushwood is thick, and I had no time to make a proper examination. The jamb is formed of one stone which appeared to me to be *in situ* and not to have been taken from an older building. The square shown at the foot of your lithograph is a hole cut in the face of the jamb to receive a beam for roughly closing the entrance. The hole has been cut long after the building ceased to be a church. The inscription ran right across the face of the jamb, but on the outer side the surface has scaled off and many of the letters are lost. Some of the letters have disappeared since the copy from which the lithograph is taken was made. The inscription consisted of thirty-six lines, and the letters are $\frac{1}{2}$ "

high. The letters are well cut, but the stone is not good. The commencement of the lines is given as a rule in the lithograph. There are several Hellenic remains at Assarkeui, and it looks a good site for digging.'

Until more Pamphylian inscriptions have been found at Assarkeui or elsewhere, I fear this one will defy all attempt to translate it. From its situation, however, it is perhaps safe to conclude that it was a religious document, describing the order of rites in the worship of Apollo Pythios; it is not improbable that the stone was one of the doorposts in a building consecrated to the god, and that the inscription began on the other jamb.

W. M. RAMSAY.

CORRIGENDA: INSCRIPTIONS ON TWO VASES.

A REMARKABLE instance of the injury that may be done by the so-called restoration of broken or marred works of art is afforded in the case of two Greek vases in the British Museum which have lately been cleaned. It is obvious that the chances are very much against the probability of a vase arriving in an entire state at its final place of deposit in a museum or collection; and that it is to the advantage of an unscrupulous dealer to hide, as far as possible, all traces of fracture or restoration: unfortunately, therefore, it is too commonly the case that a vase while undergoing repairs is treated with a wash of modern paint which, while it hides the fractures, dulls the glaze and mars the fresh metallic gleam, the peculiar charm of Greek pottery: frequently also the imagination of the modern artist is drawn upon in supplying missing details of the design, with the effect, at any rate, of misleading the student; and sometimes, as in the case of both the vases to which I refer, of completely obliterating important inscriptions. The most mischievous error of all is when a part of one vase is used to supply a missing portion of another: a vase which I have lately seen taken to pieces, was found to be made up from fragments of no less than three different vases. Restoration of this kind necessarily involves a certain amount of hacking the materials into shape, whereby portions of the original design are irretrievably ruined.

Some of the vases of the British Museum have been lately cleaned, by Mr. Ready, with excellent results; I have selected the two which show the most important alterations.

1. A kylix from Vulci in the finest style, engraved, *Monumenti Ined. dell. Inst.* vol. v. pl. xlix., published by Braun in the *Annali*, 1853, pp. 103-113: Catalogue of Vases in British Museum, No. 811*. It represents a banquet of the gods, probably at the marriage festivities of Peleus and Thetis. Five gods are there, each with his special lady at the foot of his couch, while Komos and Ganymede wait on their respective lords.

Besides several unimportant details, the following changes are worthy of notice:—

In the interior scene, instead of the fragment ΕΡΡΕΦΑ we have the whole name ΦΕΡΡΕΦΑΤΤΑ, a form of the name of Persephone which we meet elsewhere (see for similar forms *Ar. Thesm.* 287, *Ran.* 671, &c., and Förster, *Der Raub der Persephonè*, p. 278).

On the exterior, the names ΑΡΙΑΔΝΕ, ΚΩΜΟΣ now appear complete, and that of ΑΜΦΙΤΡΙΤΗ has regained its seven missing letters; [ΓΑ]ΝΥΜΕΔΕΣ recovers an Ν and Υ, the first two letters being still wanting. The name of Dionysos terminates in an ordinary ζ, instead of the ζ which is assigned to it in the *Monumenti*. The top of Zeus' sceptre, and the face of Komos as given there, are both the work of the restorer. On the table of Plouton a flower or fruit is now visible.

2. A stamnos from Chiusi, representing Silenos, captured in the rose gardens, led bound into the presence of Midas: this is published by Emil Braun in the *Annali* of the Roman Institute for 1844, pp. 200–213, and engraved *ibid.*, *Tav. d'Agg. H.* This engraving shows no trace whatever of an inscription, neither does Dr. Braun mention any; there were however visible before cleaning, the names of ΜΙΔΑΣ and ΣΙΛΕΝΟΣ, both placed above the head of Silenos. Since the vase was freed of its modern coating, the following inscriptions have appeared: above the head of Midas his own name ΜΙΔΑΣ: above the head of the female attendant who stands behind him, ΕΥΡΩΓΑ, Eur[o]pa? and above the head of the servant who holds the cord by which Silenos is bound, the fragment ΑΛΟΣ: the cord itself is also now visible.

Whether this last inscription is part of the name of the figure over whom it is placed, or whether it is merely part of the word ΚΑΛΟΣ, seems doubtful; if the latter is the case, we have some sort of explanation for the peculiar repetition of the name Midas. The name standing over that of Silenos would then simply form part of a sentence of a form common enough on vases: Μίδας καλός, which might refer either to the king himself or to some existing personage whom the inscriber had in view.

CECIL SMITH.

THE RAM IN AEGINETAN SCULPTURE.

PAUSANIAS (x. 17, 6) seeks to convey a definite notion of the rams in Sardinia by saying that they had the form which an Aeginetan sculptor would give a wild ram, except for a shagginess on the breast which was too thick for Aeginetan art. The sparseness of form implied here, and still more distinctly in the extraordinary swiftness which he ascribes to these rams, seems to agree very well with what remains of the sculpture of Aegina; and in calling attention to this circumstance (*Greek Sculpture*, p. 187) I supposed that Pausanias had in his mind only the general characteristic of the Aegina school, to which he refers on other occasions. But it occurs to me now that he may have been thinking specially of Onatas and the statue of Hermes Kriophoros, which he had seen at Olympia and described (v. 27, 8). Onatas receives great praise from Pausanias (v. 25, 7), and no doubt was to him a representative of the school of Aegina.

A. S. MURRAY.

WHERE WAS DODONA?

To the Editor of the Journal of Hellenic Studies.

RISEHOLME, LINCOLN,
May 9th, 1881.

SIR,—The article in your *Journal* by Mr. Roberts 'On the Oracle Inscriptions discovered at Dodona' (recently published at Paris in the magnificent work of Constantin Carapanos, entitled *Dodone et ses ruines*), has been read by me with great gratification, and has awakened in my mind some delightful reminiscences. May I be permitted to communicate them?

Fifty years ago, when at Naples, and preparing for a journey to Greece, I had the pleasure of friendly intercourse with Sir William Gell, who at that time had done more than any one in Europe for the elucidation of the geography and topography of Greece, except perhaps Mr. Dodwell and Colonel Leake. In one of our conversations at that time Sir William Gell said to me, 'One of the most interesting and difficult questions in Greek geography is, "Where was Dodona?" When you go to Greece, mind and try to find it out.'

Colonel Leake, in his admirable work on *Northern Greece*, published in 1835 (vol. iv. pp. 168–200, where is a long essay on the subject), writes in despair upon it as follows: 'Unfortunately nothing more than an opinion can be pronounced upon it. Dodona is now the only Greek city of any celebrity the situation of which is not exactly known.' Colonel Leake thought that Dodona might have been at Kastritza, at the southern end of the lake of Jannina, and that its temple might have been in the fortress of Jannina itself.

That a place so distinguished in ancient history for its famous

oracle should have been utterly lost was marvellous. And in visiting Greece in 1832 I endeavoured to do what I could to solve the problem and unravel the mystery.

The following was the result. When at Jannina in 1832 I made an excursion on September 12th in a south-westerly direction, and visited some ruins at about seven miles' distance from that town, at a place called *Dramisus*. The account of my researches on that occasion was published by me not long afterwards in my work on Greece (*Greece, pictorial, descriptive, and historical*) long since out of print; and as it can hardly be known to your readers, I venture to make an extract from it on this question.

You will see that reasons are there given for a prophecy that Dodona would be found at *Dramisus*. You may guess my delight at hearing that this prediction has now been fully verified by the discovery of the ancient inscriptions mentioned in your article, which show beyond all doubt that the ruins at *Dramisus* are the remains of DODONA.

Let me now subjoin the description as it stands in my work on Greece, printed in 1839 (p. 247, first edition published by Mr. Orr, and p. 324 in later editions published by Mr. Murray).

I am, sir,

Yours faithfully,

C. LINCOLN.

ON THE SITE OF DODONA.

To ascertain the site of DODONA would seem now to require a response from the oracle itself. The former dwelling of the spirit which once guided half the world is lost. For many generations kings, generals, and statesmen came from the extreme coasts of Greece, from all the countries stretching between Amphipolis on the east, and Apollonia on the west, and from the shores of Asia and Italy, to consult the oracle; but now none can point to its place. Still even the uncertainty of its site is not without interest, and we do not believe that the search for it is hopeless. There must be something peculiar and distinct in the remains of so remarkable a place. The ruins of a large capital are easily distinguished from those of a dependent city; the ruins of a city, again, from those of a mere fortress; but the ruins of an oracular city will have something very different from both.

What has perplexed the investigation of this question is, as it appears to us, not the paucity of identifying data, but their multitude and variety. There are so many and conflicting conditions to be satisfied that it is impossible to satisfy them all. A lake; a high mountain; a hundred springs; a miraculous fountain which extinguishes lights and then rekindles them; a forest of oaks and

beeches; a wide plain of excellent pasturage; these characteristics are all put together as in the hue-and-cry description of a military deserter; these are the attributes and features by which Dodona is first to be recognised, and then brought back to the post which it has deserted in the maps of Greece.

But has not this varied description been sketched without due discrimination? Regarding Dodona as a *city* only and not as a country, we believe that it was the most remarkable in this district; indeed it was the only one of any consideration within a circuit of many miles. Its importance also, from its *sacred* character, is not to be neglected. Now, supposing a traveller in this part of Greece, but not in the *immediate* neighbourhood of the oracle itself, to have met with a phosphoric fountain, for instance, which he found to extinguish and then to ignite any inflammable substance, if he were asked on his return home, 'Where this spring was to be found?' what answer would he have made but this—'He had seen it near Dodona.' And thus a cluster of wonders would soon group themselves about that place, as the best and almost the only point for their adhesion and support; and so these phenomena, though really detached, but connected with it by association, would soon be assumed to be the features of the oracle itself.

But Dodona was not a *city* merely: it was, we believe, a *country* also. Its dimensions may be presumed to have been of sufficient extent to comprise within their general range all those characteristic features which are now crowded into the immediate neighbourhood, and almost into the sacred precincts of the oracular shrine.

It has been alleged, that because some authors place Dodona in Molossia and others in Thesprotia, it must therefore have been upon the borders of both. But this inference must be received with certain limitations. In earlier times Dodona was in Thesprotia; in later ages it was in Molossia; simply because the greater part of Thesprotia itself became Molossian by the southward encroachments of the latter power, which, in the Peloponnesian war, reached nearly to the shores of the Ambracian Gulf.

Again, in that important datum for determining the position of Dodona, namely, its distance of four days' journey from Butbrotum, at the mouth of the modern Delvino, and of two from Ambracia, the present Arta, it must be remembered that the latter journey would be *with*, and the former *against*, the grain of the hard mountain ranges which stretch from north to south between the Pindus and the Ionian Sea.

These considerations are suggested by the sight of an ancient city, whose ruins have deservedly attracted much attention. In our way towards them, we proceed from Jannina in a south-westerly direction, and in an hour's time from that place pass by the village of Grapsista on our left, then turn to the right up a mountain pass, whence we descend, having a church called Ecclesia Bodista on the left, into an extensive plain, which lies below the eastern slopes of Mount Olitza. The ruins, which are situated in the middle of this plain, are about eleven miles to the south-west of Jannina. They are known by the name of the Kastro, or ancient citadel, of *Dramisus*.

The first thing which strikes the spectator in looking at these remains, is their situation. They stand in a *plain*. The selection of such a spot shows a remarkable confidence in the inherent resources of the city; for if there is one particular attribute of an ordinary Hellenic town, it is this—that its citadel is placed upon a *hill*. A Greek city was always full of suspicions; the exception furnished by the example of Nicopolis, a *Roman* Greek city, which is placed in

the middle of the plain, is an argument in favour of this general rule. These ruins, which we are now viewing, are exclusively Greek, and in a similar situation; and that, too, in the heart of one of the most mountainous districts of Greece. There was no want of localities admirably suited for the erection of a fortress upon them, in a country where there are pointed hills shooting up their heads on every side, vying, as it were, with one another to be encircled with the mural crown of an Hellenic city. The choice, therefore, of a level site in such a region as this, was, we conceive, made deliberately, and for some especial reason.

This peculiarity is made more remarkable by the smallness of the city itself. The strength of its population could never have compensated for the weakness of its position. The whole circuit of the walls of its upper and lower divisions does not amount to two English miles. The consideration of these two facts, the lowness of the situation and the small extent of the city, seem conclusive objections against the opinion which has ascribed these ruins to Passaron, the metropolitan seat of the house of Pyrrhus. But though the place which we are now viewing could have possessed no military power, still, in a social respect, it seems to have been of considerable importance. Attached to the acropolis, on the south-east, is the shell of a magnificent theatre, one of the largest now existing in Greece. It is scooped in the declivity of the hill, with a southern aspect. Now the existence of a theatre at all, especially in this district, is a very singular circumstance; but the existence of so grand a theatre in so insignificant a place is without a parallel in the whole of Greece.

Proceeding eastward from the theatre, we observe another object, very unusual in the remains of Epirot cities. On the north of the theatre, between it and the gate of the lower city, are vestiges of two temples; of the most distant of the two, fourteen columns, or at least the fragments of them, are still standing. There are not, we believe, fourteen other columns remaining together in the whole of Epirus.

Considering these circumstances, and the inferences to be deduced from them, we feel disposed to inquire whether, when contemplating these ruins, we are not treading the soil once hallowed by the presence of Dodona? Does not this supposition explain the peculiarities above noticed? The oracular city needed no extrinsic defence of a strong natural position; it was protected by its own sanctity. Being situated in a plain, it was easy of access for the inquirers who came to it from every side. Hence, too, we may account for the disproportion between the city and the buildings with which it was adorned. The theatre was not designed for the entertainment of citizens only; it served as an attraction for strangers, and provided gratification for those who were brought there by the celebrity of the oracle. Whether the temples of which we have spoken were connected with the worship of the Dodonaean Jupiter, and whether they were contained in a *Temenos*, or sacred enclosure, in which the theatre probably stood, as was the case with that at Epidaurus, will be better determined by those who may be enabled to make excavations among the ruins.

For the reasons adduced above, it is not wonderful that we do not discover here all the natural phenomena usually associated with Dodona. In order to reconcile the modern picture with the ancient original, the other features of Dodona must be collected by the topographer from various places in the neighbourhood, as the limbs of his son, scattered about the country, were by Aetes. We may be compelled to go eight miles to Jannina for the Dodonaean lake; its phosphoric spring may perhaps be found near the sulphuric mines worked by Ali Pasha, near

Djerovini ; the mountain of Tomarus will be represented by Olitzka, with its hundred sources in its glens, and this fertile plain at its roots.

Another vestige of the oracle deserves notice. There are records of a Bishop of Dodona existing in the fifth century, and the name which the place bears in the Imperial documents of that period, is Bonditza. This appellation is perhaps to be recognized in that of the small church of Bodista, which we passed, as above noticed, at a short distance from this spot. It seems worth an inquiry whether the same name, in an abbreviated form, is not preserved in the compound Xero Boutza, a village a little to the north west of these ruins.

This conjecture, made in 1832, has now been verified by the discovery of the ancient inscriptions found among the ruins here described.

C. L.

BYZANTINE SATIRE.

IT must sometimes have occurred to readers of Byzantine literature, after they have perused a number of the occasionally valuable, but almost always dreary, works of which it is composed—lifeless chronicles, polemical and other theology, inflated panegyrics, and grammatical treatises—to ask the question, whether this was really all; whether a quick-witted and intelligent people, such as we know the inhabitants of Constantinople at certain periods to have been, were contented to subsist entirely on such dry mental food. No doubt, religious controversy often ran high, and this, when it fills men's thoughts, is apt to supply the place of intellectual interests; but such discussions did not last for ever, and could not have occupied the minds of the whole of the educated population. A certain source of relief was provided in the numerous poems, songs, and romances in the popular language—some of native growth and dealing with subjects of local or traditional interest, some imitated from the romances of Western Europe—which have been brought to light by the industry of such men as MM. Sathas and Legrand at Paris, Prof. Lambros of Athens, and the late Dr. W. Wagner of Hamburg. But even these do not furnish that element of liveliness, which we should expect to manifest itself in some shape or other in a great centre of activity.

Now the form of literature which is most liable to be generated by circumstances such as these is satire. Repression, whether in the character of political despotism or of literary mannerism,

—and both these existed in the Byzantine Empire—has the effect of forcing genius into side channels, and criticism, when it cannot be exercised openly, finds for itself indirect methods of expression, which are usually characterised by a tone of bitterness. To some extent we see these influences at work at Rome in the early period of the empire; and in the great cities of the East, where popular feeling was less under control, the satirical spirit manifests itself on various occasions; as when the Emperor Julian at Antioch became the subject of libellous songs, to which he replied by the counterblast of the *Misopogon*. That the same thing prevailed at Constantinople is shown by a passage of Anna Comnena, where she says, speaking of a conspiracy among the courtiers against her father, Alexius Comnenus, that they wrote a number of scurrilous pamphlets, and flung them into the emperor's tent.¹ The word *φάμوصα* (i.e. *famosi libelli*), which Anna uses here, proves by its Latin origin that such compositions were no new thing, since it must have descended from the early period of the Eastern empire, when the Latin language was in vogue. But, beyond this, we have ample evidence of a regular satirical literature having existed there. Some of these Byzantine satires, which have no very distinctive marks to betray the lateness of their date, have been printed along with Lucian's works, but the majority have remained in manuscript; and Hase, who first drew attention to this subject, says there are about a dozen such in the National Library at Paris alone. Two of these last have now been published, and as they are both interesting in themselves and characteristic specimens of the literature to which they belong, it is the object of the following paper to give some account of them.

The publication of the first of these, which is entitled *Timarion's Sufferings* (Τιμαρίων, ἡ περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν παθημάτων), may be said to be due to a fortunate accident. The manuscript in which it is preserved belongs to the Vatican library, and when the treasures of that collection were temporarily in Paris in the early part of this century, having been transferred thither by the Emperor Napoleon I., M. Hase was employed to make a catalogue of the Greek manuscripts therein contained. Finding that this satire was a work of merit, he printed it entire in 1813, in the *Notices et Extraits des Manu-*

¹ Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, Book xiii. chap. i. p. 179, edit. Bonn.

scrips (Vol. ix. Pt. 2, pp. 125 foll.), together with a Latin translation, illustrative notes, and a long and learned preface, in which he discusses the origin and character of this class of writings. At the same time he drew attention to a similar satire of some importance, that of the *Sojourn of Mazaris in Hades* (*Ἐπιδημία Μάζαρι ἐν ᾍδου*), as existing in manuscript in the Paris library, and of this he gave an analysis, accompanied by historical and other comments, though he did not publish it. Eighteen years later it was printed by Boissonade in the third volume of his *Anecdota Graeca*. Both these works were subsequently republished in 1860 from the texts of Hase and Boissonade, with a German translation by Dr. Ellissen of Göttingen, in the fourth volume of his *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, and the notes which that accomplished student of Byzantine history and literature has added are of the utmost value. It is from these authorities that my knowledge of the subject is for the most part derived.

The dates of these compositions can be approximately determined by internal evidence. That of 'Timarion' is some time in the first half of the twelfth century, for that character—and there can be little doubt that by Timarion the anonymous writer meant himself—speaks of Theodore of Smyrna as having been his teacher, and that rhetorician flourished in the reign of Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118); while on the other hand the dignitary for whom he expresses the highest admiration in this piece, and who was probably his patron, Michael Palaeologus, occupied important positions under John Comnenus (1118–1143) and Manuel (1143–1180). This was a period of considerable literary activity, for it produced, among others, the historians Zonaras and Cinnamus, the grammarian Tzetzes, and the commentator Eustathius. The author appears, from what he says of Timarion, to have been a native of Cappadocia, and by profession a philosopher, that is, probably, some kind of student and teacher. On the other hand, 'Mazaris' was composed nearly three centuries later, during the latter half of the long reign of Manuel Palaeologus II. (1391–1425), for reference is made in it to the visit of that emperor to western Europe with the object of obtaining aid against the Turks, from which he returned in 1402, as an event of recent occurrence, and the defeat of Sultan Bajazet by Timour at Angora, which happened

in the same year, is also alluded to. The author of this satire must have been an inhabitant of Constantinople from his intimate acquaintance with the gossip and scandal of the court, and if he speaks in his own name, he would seem to have been a courtier himself. The severity with which he handles the monks, proves that he was not an ecclesiastic. It will be seen that the two periods to which these compositions refer were times of considerable interest; for the former was the era of the Crusades, when the Byzantine empire was still vigorous, while the latter saw that empire in the last stage of decrepitude, though struggling against its impending fate.

The subject of both pieces is the same, a narrative of a visit to the infernal regions. From Homer's time onward this idea, exciting as it is to the imagination, had been a favourite one in Greek literature, and the descents of Heracles, Orpheus, Theseus, and Ulysses provided the material for fanciful speculation and for poetic treatment. As long as the belief in the old gods remained, a certain feeling of awe clung to the subject, though even apart from scepticism it was easily turned into ridicule, as we see from the way in which it is handled in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. But by the Byzantine writers it was employed as a means of expressing an opinion, favourable or unfavourable as the case might be, of persons either still living or lately dead, and of introducing allusions and anecdotes which might amuse the reading public. In Timarion also, and probably in Mazaris, the person is not supposed to descend alive into Hades, as is the case with Dante and with the heroes of Greek romance, but the soul is for the time separated from the body, and is only reunited to it by some supernatural means. But though these two compositions correspond to one another in these respects, in most points there is a strong contrast between them. In the first place, their form is somewhat different, for while Timarion is a dialogue, Mazaris is rather a narrative, for a supposed audience is addressed as ὦ παρόντες; but this difference exists in appearance rather than in reality, for in the former the interlocutor is only introduced to ask leading questions so as to facilitate the telling of the story; while on the other hand the narrative of Mazaris is to a great extent taken up with the report of conversations. A much more marked contrast is found in their contents and the mode of handling the subject. For whereas

in Timarion the primary object is to amuse, so that the story is worked out in considerable detail, and the satire is kept in the background, and is gentle and good-humoured in its criticisms; in Mazaris the occurrences that are mentioned are few, and the dialogue is the more prominent feature; and the satirical element prevails throughout, usually taking the form of malevolent detraction, mixed with violent and scurrilous invective.

The classical author whose compositions served as a model to these mediaeval satirists was Lucian. This clever writer, the Swift or Voltaire of the second century of our era, exercised great influence over the Byzantines, and was both read and imitated by them. His popularity at any period is not difficult to account for, owing to the eminent readableness of his works; for his style is clear and easy, the subjects that he treats of are very numerous, his sketches of men and manners are singularly graphic, the form of his compositions is varied, being sometimes dialogue and at others narrative, and his satire is a mixture of light wit and rasping sarcasm. In this way he never fails to amuse. But in the Eastern empire there were additional causes for his popularity. Besides the tendency to satirical writing which we have noticed as being prevalent under that dominion, and which naturally suggested the study of so great a master of that art, religious feeling also contributed to the same result. For some of the vices that Lucian attacks, such as pride, avarice and hypocrisy, are amongst the things with which religion is constantly at war; and at the same time Christian teachers were amused at his ridicule of the heathen gods and ancient systems of philosophy, which were their own antagonists, while they failed to perceive that this weapon might be turned, as he had occasionally turned it, against themselves; in fact, that scepticism such as his struck at the root of all religion and all absolute truth. Accordingly, they were tempted to imitate him, and some of them in different centuries succeeded so far that their compositions were for a time mistaken for his. But his wit was his own, and could not be reproduced; what they inherited was his form and method, which served as a vehicle for satires on the society, and occasionally on the events and characters, of their own times.

The satires of Lucian which touch on the subject of the future state are—

(1) The *Dialogi Mortuorum*: these thirty short pieces are mainly devoted to ridiculing the follies and superstitions of mankind, by means of imaginary conversations between mythological or historical personages in the lower world; indirectly also they are intended to expose the inconsistencies in men's ideas about a life after death.

(2) The *Catapulus sive Tyrannus*: this is also a dialogue, and describes a multitude of souls crossing in Charon's boat, which Megapenthes, the rich tyrant, wishes to avoid doing, in order that he may enjoy the pleasures of life a little longer; with his unwillingness is contrasted the eagerness of a cobbler, Micyllus, to make the passage, and when they are brought before Rhadamanthys for trial, they are appointed to happiness and suffering inversely to what they had experienced in the world above. It is a sort of heathen version of Dives and Lazarus.

(3) The *De Luctu*: in this satire Lucian ridicules the funeral customs of various peoples, and those of the Greeks in particular, and introduces a youth lately dead as returning to life in order to reproach his parents for insulting him by this mockery, when he was so much better off than they were. Short though it is, it contains the most detailed account that the satirist has given of the beliefs on the subject of death which he attributes to his countrymen.

(4) The second book of the *Vera Historia*. This work, which is a romance composed of all sorts of extravagances and impossibilities—a narrative which might be compared to Sindbad the Sailor, or Gulliver's Travels, or one of Jules Verne's Tales—in one part describes a visit to the Islands of the Blessed, where the city they inhabit bears in many points a strange resemblance to the New Jerusalem of the book of Revelation, though the life described shows Lucian at his worst. Afterwards the adventurers reach another island, which contains the place of punishment.

The state of the dead which the satirist describes is the Homeric Inferno, amplified by some further details, and by the addition of some personages, like Charon, who belong to the later mythology. Lucian, in fact, in the treatise *De Luctu*, himself attributes the views of the Greeks on this subject to Homer and Hesiod as their authors.¹ The conception of Hades

¹ *De Luctu*, ii.

is that of a dark region underground, surrounded by great rivers, of which pieces of water the Acherusian lake is the largest; and cannot be crossed without the ferryman. At the descent of the pit dwell Aeacus and Cerberus, and within, the asphodel meadow is entered, in which is the water of Lethe. From this, according to the judgment of Minos and Rhadamanthys, the good are sent to the Elysian plain, the bad to the place of torment, while the large class of those intermediate between the two continue to wander in the meadow, and are fed by the libations and other offerings made on their tombs, so that those who receive none of these starve. This conception is modified by Lucian in different parts of his writings, according, it would seem, as suited the purpose of his satire at the time. The idea of punishment has generally much greater stress laid upon it than that of reward; in one place the Seven Wise Men alone are spoken of as free from sorrow,¹ and in another the inhabitants of Hades are said to lie all alike beneath the same darkness, in no wise differing the one from the other.²

The dialogue, however, which is most closely imitated in Timarion and Mazaris, is the *Necyomanteia*, and this is probably the work not of Lucian himself, but of an early imitator. In this, Philonides, an acquaintance of the cynic Menippus, who is a favourite character with Lucian, meets that philosopher wearing a broad-brimmed hat and a lion's skin, and carrying a lyre, which objects prove to be emblems of a pilgrimage to the infernal regions, assumed by him in imitation of Ulysses, Heracles and Orpheus. To his friend's salutation and inquiries concerning his absence he replies in the first words of the Hecuba—

ἦ καὶ νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας
 λιπὼν, ἵν' ἄδῃς χωρὶς φέκισται θεῶν—

and, when further interrogated, he continues to reply by quotations from Euripides and Homer, in whose company he says he has lately been, so that their verses come unbidden to his lips. On the same principle, apparently, he swears by Cerberus. He in turn inquires about those whom he had left above ground, and when he is told that they are pursuing their usual occupations of plunder, perjury and usury, he compassionates them because of the decree that had lately been passed

¹ *Dialogi Mortuorum*, xx. 4.

² *Ibid.* xv. 2.

in Hades concerning rich men. What this was, he is at first unwilling to divulge, lest he should render himself liable to indictment for impiety in the court of Rhadamanthys, but ultimately he agrees to do so on promise of silence. First, however, Philonides requests that he should explain his reasons for visiting the lower regions, and relate who acted as his guide, and what he saw and heard. His reason, he replies, was to obtain relief from scepticism, since he had failed to meet with any satisfaction in this matter in the world above. He then describes his early difficulties—how in his youth he had learnt to believe in the history of the gods and goddesses with all their crimes and misdemeanours; and when at a later period he found these things to be strictly forbidden by the laws, he was in perplexity how to reconcile religion and morality. Thereupon he betook himself to philosophy, but in doing so perceived that he had got from the frying-pan (or, as the Greek proverb has it, from the smoke) into the fire, because each school maintained different tenets, and, what was worse, they brought forward from their different points of view such irrefragable arguments to prove directly contrary propositions that he was bewildered. Persons who have seen the inhabitants of south-eastern Europe at the present day express dissent by throwing back the head, as the Greeks and Romans used to do, instead of shaking it, as we do, will appreciate his description of his state of mind at this time; for he says that he was in the condition of a drowsy man, one minute nodding his head forward (*ἐπινεύων*), and the next throwing it back again (*ἀνανεύων*). Besides this, he found the lives of the philosophers quite at variance with their tenets. Disappointed here, he bethought him of applying to the Chaldaean magi, who were said to be able by means of incantations to conduct living persons into Hades and back again, in order that he might communicate with the shade of Teiresias, and learn from him what was the best and most reasonable life to lead. One of these, called Mithrobarzanes, dresses him up with the emblems already mentioned, in order that he might be mistaken for one of the personages who had already made the journey, and then conducting him to a spot near the Euphrates, causes the ground to open and form a chasm by which they enter. After passing the usual objects of the Greek Inferno, they come to the place where Minos was judging

the souls, witness being borne against them in an ingenious manner by the shadows they had cast during their lifetime. This gives an opportunity for drawing the contrast, which is so familiar in Lucian, between the greatness of princes in the world above and their contemptible position after death. They then arrive at the place of punishment, where terrible tortures are being inflicted, and finally reach the Acherusian plain, where the rest of the dead are assembled, all ghastly, and hardly distinguishable from one another; the moral being that life is an empty pageant, and the gifts on which men pride themselves an unreality. At last Philonides recalls him to the decree which he had mentioned concerning rich men; this was to the effect that after death their bodies should be punished like those of other criminals, but their souls should be sent up to earth again, to inhabit the bodies of asses, and to be driven by the poor. This was proposed by Κραίων Σκελετίωνος Νεκυσίης, φυλῆς Ἀλβαντίδος, and was voted in the assembly of the dead. After this Menippus meets Teiresias, and asks him the question for the sake of which he had descended; and receives the characteristic answer, that the best rule of conduct is to enjoy oneself, to cultivate a jesting spirit, and not to be anxious or earnest about anything. Menippus returns to the upper world by the cave of Trophonius.

Having thus noticed the conditions under which the Byzantine satires were produced, let us turn to the first of those which we propose to examine, viz.—

TIMARION'S SUFFERINGS.

The age of the Comneni, to which the story of these belongs, was a period at once of decline and of revival to the Byzantine empire. From the beginning of the eighth century, when Leo the Isaurian by his reforms infused new life into the declining state, until the commencement of the eleventh century, that power was the strongest in Europe; and no other monarchical government in history can show so long a succession of able administrators as is found, first in the line of the Iconoclast emperors, and afterwards in the Macedonian dynasty. Its greatness in war is shown by its having beaten back and ultimately outlived the power of the Saracens, who would

otherwise have overrun the whole of Europe ; and on the other side by its having kept at bay for three hundred years, and at last destroyed, the great Bulgarian monarchy. Its material prosperity appears in the immense weight of taxation it was able to endure, and was in great measure the result of the commerce of the mercantile marine, which had in its hands the whole of the carrying trade between Asia and Western Europe. And in respect of civilization its high position is shown by the attention paid to education, by the regular administration of justice, and especially by the steady maintenance of the legal standard of the coinage. But in the eleventh century symptoms of decline appeared, and developed themselves with great rapidity. This was owing partly to political, and partly to social causes. During the three previous centuries the government had tended to become more and more a pure despotism, and the evils arising from the complete centralization of the system were only kept in check by the admirable organization of the public service, officials being regularly trained to conduct the various departments of the state ; but now this system was broken down in consequence of these offices being entrusted to eunuchs of the imperial household, the object being to diminish the chance of rebellion by placing the government in the hands of men who could not found a dynasty. At the same time the accumulation of property in the hands of a few great landholders, whose farms were cultivated by serfs or slaves, almost extirpated the middle class of small farmers, and thus diminished the number of those who were willing to defend their liberties against invaders. A single false step revealed the weakness that had thus been introduced into the whole body politic. At the time when the Seljouk Turks first made their appearance on the eastern frontier of the empire, Constantine IX. (A.D. 1045) destroyed the Armenian kingdom of the Bagratidae which had long guaranteed its safety, and thereby laid his dominions open to the invaders ; and the consequence was that within fifty years the Seljouks had occupied all the inland part of Asia Minor, and had established their capital at Nicaea, in the immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople. With the accession of Alexius Comnenus a revival commenced, for the first Crusade, which coincided with his reign, beat back the Seljouks, who thenceforward fixed their capital at Iconium, on the south-eastern

frontier of Asia Minor; and Alexius himself, and his two immediate successors, John and Manuel Comnenus, whose long reigns extended over an entire century, were all distinguished by personal courage and skill in war, by literary culture, and by sagacity in politics, and were thus well qualified to impart fresh vigour to the state. But the prevailing evils were incurable; the public service had become disorganised, the military spirit of the nobles was impaired by luxury, and the trading privileges which had been conceded to the Venetians and other commercial states of the west, prepared the way for the decline of Greek commerce. Everything depended on the existing sovereign, and it was in the power of one bad emperor, like Andronicus Comnenus, the last of his dynasty, to ruin all. It is one source of the interest of the present satire, that it gives us some idea of the state of the empire and of the condition of society at that time.

The story commences, like that of the *Necyomanteia*, by the narrator, Timarion, being met on his return to Constantinople after a lengthened absence by a friend, Cydion, who inquires the reason of his delaying his return. As Cydion addresses him with quotations from Homer, Timarion replies by passages from that poet and Euripides, giving as his reason for so doing, not the same explanation which Menippus gave, namely that he had been in the company of the poets, but his desire to commence his subject in a dignified manner, suitably to its tragic character. However, when he is once started, he puts aside pedantry, and gives a straightforward account of his journey. His object was to visit Thessalonica for the festival of St. Demetrius, the patron saint of that city, which was held on the 26th of October; and the description he gives of the liberal hospitality which he received on the way thither, and of the magnificence of the entertainments at which he was present, gives us a high idea of the prosperity of the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia at this period, which is confirmed by what we learn from other sources. His interrogator, imitating Philonides in his request to Menippus, begs him not to hurry over the ground so fast, but to be more communicative about the details of his journey; and Timarion, thus encouraged, describes his hunting on the banks of the Axios, in the interval which elapsed before the commencement of the festival, for he hated idleness, he says, as a Jew hates

pork—and then proceeds to give an account of the great fair, or Demetria, as he calls it, which began six days before the Saint's day. It may be premised that Thessalonica, which is the scene of this, is the Genoa of the East, for like that city it occupies the innermost part of a bay, and its houses rise from the water's edge, and gradually ascend the hillsides towards the north. Like Genoa, also, it holds a singularly advantageous position with reference to trade with the interior of the country. Allowing for a certain amount of exaggeration, this description gives us a fair notion of the trade of the Eastern empire, and is interesting as referring to the important silk manufactures of Thebes and Corinth.

'The Demetria is a festival, like the Panathenaea at Athens, and the Panionia among the Milesians, and it is at the same time the most important fair held in Macedonia. Not only do the natives of the country flock together to it in great numbers, but multitudes also come from all lands and of every race—Greeks, wherever they are found, the various tribes of Mysians [*i.e.* people of Moesia] who dwell on our borders as far as the Ister and Scythia, Campanians and other Italians, Iberians, Lusitanians, and Transalpine Celts'—this is the Byzantine way of describing the Bulgarians, &c., Neapolitans, Spaniards, Portuguese, and French; 'and, to make a long story short, the shores of the ocean send pilgrims and suppliants to visit the martyr, so widely extended is his fame throughout Europe. For myself, being a Cappadocian from beyond the boundaries of the empire,'—this country was now under the Seljouk sultans of Iconium—'and having never before been present on the occasion, but having only heard it described, I was anxious to get a bird's eye view of the whole scene, that I might pass over nothing unnoticed. With this object I made my way up to a height close by the scene of the fair, where I sat down and surveyed everything at my leisure. What I saw there was a number of merchants' booths, set up in parallel rows opposite one another; and these rows extended to a great length, and were sufficiently wide apart to leave a broad space in the middle, so as to give free passage for the stream of the people. Looking at the closeness of the booths to one another and the regularity of their position, one might take them for lines drawn lengthwise from two opposite points. At right angles to these, other booths were

set up, also forming rows, though of no great length, so that they resembled the tiny feet that grow outside the bodies of certain reptiles. Curious indeed it was, that while in reality there were two rows, they presented the appearance of a single animal, owing to the booths being so near and so straight; for the lines suggested a long body, while the crossrows at the sides looked like the feet that supported it. I declare, when I looked down from the heights above on the ground plan of the fair, I could not help comparing it to a centipede, a very long insect with innumerable small feet under its belly.

‘And if you are anxious to know what it contained, my inquisitive friend, as I saw it afterwards when I came down from the hills—well, there was every kind of material woven or spun by men or women, all those that come from Boeotia and the Peloponnese, and all that are brought in trading ships from Italy to Greece. Besides this, Phoenicia furnishes numerous articles, and Egypt, and Spain, and the pillars of Hercules, where the finest coverlets are manufactured. These things the merchants bring direct from their respective countries to old Macedonia and Thessalonica; but the Euxine also contributes to the splendour of the fair, by sending across its products to Constantinople, whence the cargoes are brought by numerous horses and mules. All this I went through and carefully examined afterwards when I came down; but even while I was still seated on the height above I was struck with wonder at the number and variety of the animals, and the extraordinary confusion of their noises which assailed my ears—horses neighing, oxen lowing, sheep bleating, pigs grunting, and dogs barking, for these also accompany their masters as a defence against wolves and thieves.’

This curious passage is followed, first, by a description of the nightly ceremonies of the festival of the Saint, and then by a detailed account of a civil and military procession during the day, in which the governor played a conspicuous part. This person, who is called ‘the Duke’ (ὁ Δούξ), can be satisfactorily identified with the Michael Palaeologus already mentioned, an ancestor of the imperial family who ruled the Byzantine empire during the last two centuries of its existence, by a play on his name; for the writer goes out of his way to say, that the grandfather of the Duke in consequence of ancient speeches

(παλαιοὶ λόγοι) made by him or about him, received a surname implying the antiquity of his lineage. His family and personal appearance are here described with much hyperbole of language, for in this instance the writer has fallen into the inflated style of Byzantine diction, from which he has the merit of being usually free. At the end of the day, when the ceremonies were concluded, Timarion returned to his lodging, and there was seized by a violent fever—an occurrence which must have been common enough at times of pilgrimage, owing to the overcrowding of the people, and the absence of sanitary arrangements. The real interest of the story commences at this point, for what has hitherto been related is introductory. After a few days he felt better, and started on his homeward journey, but on the way, when the fever had left him, an attack of inflammation of the liver and dysentery supervened. All this is described with a mixture of the comic and the pathetic which is very amusing, and both the symptoms of the maladies and their treatment are fully detailed, since the *dénouement* in great measure turns upon them. But besides this, it is evident that one object of the piece is to satirize physicians and medical theories, and that the writer had a tolerably intimate acquaintance with the science of medicine. Timarion perseveres in travelling, notwithstanding extreme weakness, which caused him, he says, to lie across a pack-horse like a bundle of luggage; but at last, when he reaches the banks of the Hebrus, his system can endure no longer, and he dies, or at least his soul is separated from his body. What followed shall be told in his own words.

‘Since my poor body, dear Cydion, was completely worn out, partly by the dysentery, and still more by fasting for twenty entire days, I began, as I thought, to sleep the last sleep. Now there are in the universe certain avenging spirits, which by the appointment of divine providence punish those who rebel against the laws of God, and also good spirits, who reward the righteous; and others again there are, the conductors of souls, who bring down to Pluto, Aeacus, and Minos in whatever way they can the souls which have departed from their bodies, in order that, when they have been examined according to the customs and laws of the dead, they may afterwards receive their rightful portion and abode. This last was what happened in my case.

Shortly before midnight two men of shadowy form and dusky aspect, flying through the air, presented themselves at my bed, where I had lain down and was endeavouring to slumber. As soon as I beheld them I became numb at the strangeness of the sight; my voice was checked, though I tried to scream, and my very organs of speech were paralysed. Whether what passed was a dream or a reality I cannot tell, since fright deprived me of all power of judgment; but it was so manifest, so perfectly clear, that even now I seem to see it all before me; so terrified was I at what then happened. And when they stood by me, and laid as it were an indissoluble chain on my tongue, fettering my speech either by the awfulness of the sight or by some secret influence, they began to speak to one another in whispers, saying—"This is the man who has lost the fourth of his component elements,¹ and he cannot be allowed to continue to live on the strength of the remaining three; because a sentence of Aesculapius and Hippocrates has been written out and posted up in Hades, to the effect that no man may live when one of his four elements is wanting, even though his body may be in good condition." Then in harsher tones they exclaimed, "Follow us, you wretched creature, and be numbered among your fellows, the dead."

The sentence here mentioned sounds almost like an anticipation of the great dictum of the physician in Molière, that it is better for a patient to die in accordance with the rules of medical practice, than to recover if they are neglected. Timarion continues:—

'Much against my will I followed (what else could I do, seeing I was deprived of all succour?), being borne through the air just as they were borne, light, agile, imponderable, with my feet at large, progressing without fatigue or difficulty, like a ship that runs before the wind, so that a slight rushing sound arose as I passed, resembling the whizz of an arrow that is shot from a bow. And when, without wetting our feet, we had crossed the river that we hear of in the world above, and traversed the Acherusian lake, to which my guides also gave that name, we approached a subterraneous opening, much larger than what we are wont to see in wells. There the darkness which was dimly

¹ According to the 'humoral pathology' of Hippocrates, the four fluids or humours of the body were blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile.

visible from the mouth had so disgusting and loathsome an appearance, that I declined to be conducted down; but they separated and cut me off between them, and one of them, plunging headforemost down the opening, with a savage look dragged me after him. I laid hold of the pit's mouth, and resisted with hands and feet, until the one who followed behind, assailing me with blows, first on my face, and afterwards on my back, forced me down that gloomy chasm. From that point we journeyed a long distance in darkness and solitude, and at last reached the iron gate which closes the realm of Hades.'

This graphic, though ghastly, scene was probably suggested by a passage in Lucian, where Hermes is described in very similar language as performing the same office for the recalcitrant shades, while they fling themselves on the ground, and fight vigorously against him.¹ It has been thought that the two demons who conduct the dead, and whose names we afterwards find to be Oxybas and Nyction ('Speedy' and 'Nightly'), are a reproduction of Munker and Nekir, the Mahometan angels of death; but it is much more likely that they were derived from figures in some Byzantine fresco of the punishment of the wicked, such as may be seen on the west front of the churches in some Greek monasteries. Similar beings, both good and evil, in the act of carrying off men's souls, are represented in western art; for instance, in the great frescoes relating to death and judgment, in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Charon and his boat, it will be observed, are ignored by our author.

At the gate the horrors of death are renewed. Here they find Cerberus, and fiery-eyed serpents, and wild hideous men who act as guards. All however exhibit a friendly spirit towards his conductors, and allow them to enter, while the guards, after carefully inspecting Timarion, recognise in him the man who had already been the subject of discussion in Hades, as daring to live in defiance of the physicians. 'In with the wretch,' they exclaimed, 'who holds his own views about the composition of the body! Never shall any one live on earth without all the four elementary humours!' When once within, however, he finds the general aspect of things less uncomfortable than might have been expected. It was dark, indeed, but the inhabitants were supplied with artificial lights, the brightness of which was

¹ *Dial. Mort.* xxvii. 1.

regulated by the station in life of the owners; the poorer having torches, and those of the middle class, wood and coal fires, while the abodes of persons of distinction were brilliantly illuminated by lamps. This difference of classes is noticeable also in other points; thus, when the conductors of the dead pass by, the common people stand up out of respect to them, 'like boys in the presence of their schoolmasters.' The life in general, to judge from the examples given—for no very definite conception of it is left on the mind—seems to be a pale reflexion of the life in the world above. We are told, indeed, that all are strictly judged, and we hear in passing of rewards and punishments; but in most instances the suffering are seen still to suffer, and the prosperous to enjoy themselves, and old faults of character remain unchanged.

They had now ceased to fly, and being all rather tired by the rapidity of their transit, walked leisurely along; and as the conductors had been absent above ground for some time, they frequently stopped to gossip with the inhabitants, thus giving Timarion time to look about him. These opportunities he employed in recognising and conversing with various persons, who had either been known to him in life, or were important historical figures shortly before his time, and who therefore were interesting to his contemporaries. Even where the names of these are not given, it must have been an easy matter to identify them, owing to the minuteness with which their personal appearance is described. The first that he saw—in a brightly lighted place, which implied that its occupant was a person of distinction—was an old man, seated in a reclining posture, with a large bowl of bacon and Phrygian cabbage by his side, of which mess he was shovelling large handfuls into his mouth. Two well-fed mice, like those which, we are here told, the people of that time used to keep as pets in their houses, were waiting to lick the old man's beard when he fell asleep after his meal. He wore a good-humoured expression, and requested the newly arrived stranger to partake with him; but this offer Timarion declined, for fear of trespassing too far on the indulgence of his guards. A common man now came up, and he inquired of him who the genial old gourmand was; but in reply he was informed that the mention of his name was strictly forbidden by the authorities, though the circumstances of his

life were accurately detailed. His being of a noble family in Great Phrygia, from which country the Palaeologi came, and the praise which is accorded to him notwithstanding his greediness, coupled with the reserve about his name, suggest that he was a near relation of the great man who appeared in the procession at Thessalonica. There can be no doubt that gluttony is one of the failings satirized in this piece, for it is referred to on several subsequent occasions, though rather as a subject for laughter than for reprobation, and no punishment is awarded to it. Another shade a little later on, perceiving by a slight trace of colour in Timarion's cheeks that he had newly arrived from above, addresses him thus—'Hail, freshman among the dead, and tell me about affairs in the upper world. How many mackerel for an obol? What do tunnies and anchovies cost? What's the price of oil, wine, corn, &c.? and—most important of all, though I almost overlooked it—has there been a good catch of sardines? For when I was alive they were my favourite dish, and I preferred them even to pike.' From this we learn that fish were esteemed as great a delicacy in the days of the Comneni as they were in those of Aristophanes. Even the distinguished orator who advocates Timarion's cause before the judgment-seat, pleads guilty to the same failing. When our hero hardly recognises him, owing to the improvement in his appearance after death, he explains this by saying, that in his lifetime he was a martyr to the gout, owing to over-indulgence in the pleasures of the table, so that when he made an oration before the emperor he had to be brought in on a litter; but the spare diet of the lower world, mallows and asphodel, had completely restored his health. His old *penchant*, however, had not entirely left him, for he requests as his fee, that if his client is restored to life, he will send him down some of his favourite dainties, adding some severe remarks on the meagreness of the broth that was allowed in Hades. What is here implied concerning this vice of Byzantine society, is corroborated by what we learn from other writers concerning the luxury and self-indulgence of the upper classes at that period.

The next figure that attracted Timarion's attention was that of the Emperor Romanus IV. (Diogenes), the same on whose neck, after the great battle of Manzikert, in which he was taken prisoner, Alp Arslan placed his foot; and who, on his return to

Constantinople, was dethroned, and blinded with such barbarity as to cause his death. He is described as a man of great stature and grand appearance; but his eyes are seen to be gouged, and as he lies in his tent he utters constant lamentations, while poison trickles from his mouth. The last point refers to the attempt that was made to take his life. By his side sits a courtier, who out of compassion for his sufferings tries to console him, but in vain. The tragic story of his misfortunes is then related. The circumstance that this emperor, whose death occurred more than half a century before this time, was of Cappadocian extraction, and therefore a fellow-countryman of Timarion, may perhaps explain the interest that the writer felt in him.

As he proceeds, he is met by a man whose appearance is graphically detailed, and who, after eying him for some time, at length, like Brunetto Latini in a similar passage in Dante's *Inferno*, suddenly recognises him as an old and favourite pupil. This is the famous rhetorician Theodore of Smyrna. After mutual greetings, Timarion describes to him the circumstances of his death, and complaining that he has been unfairly treated, begs his tutor to undertake a suit in his behalf against Oxybas and Nyction, which he promises to do. Timarion, however, is anxious to know whether his case is likely to receive a fair hearing, because as Aeacus and Minos, the judges, are Hellenes, they are likely to be prejudiced against him and his advocate, who are 'Galilaeans.' I need hardly remark that the word *Ἕλληνα* at this time was used for a pagan, while a Greek was *Ῥωμαῖος*. The rhetorician replies, with no lack of self-assertion, that his best ground of confidence is his own ability, and adds that, having a slight knowledge of medicine, he can easily arrange his arguments so as to confound the ancient divinities. Both here and in subsequent passages it is clear that the sophists of that age are made a subject of satire, in addition to the two former classes of the physicians and the gourmands. He next describes the composition of the court of justice by which the dead are tried, and this is one of the most original points in the story.

In the first place, the great physicians of antiquity—Aesculapius, Hippocrates, Erasistratus, and Galen—had been constituted a body of assessors to advise the judges, because they

were most likely to be acquainted with the causes of death. Like coroners, they were qualified to determine whether a man's life had come to an end by fair means. Of their capacities, however, Theodore has a very poor opinion. He says that Aesculapius had not spoken for many years, and if he was forced to reply, did so only by the movement of his head. This means, no doubt, that since the extinction of heathenism the oracles, and among them those of this divinity, had given no responses. Hippocrates was a little more communicative, but even he only enunciated short enigmatical aphorisms, of which specimens are given; and as these were in the Ionic dialect, which Hippocrates uses in his writings, as soon as they were uttered, Minos and Aeacus, to whom they were only half-intelligible, burst out laughing. Erasistratus he regarded as a mere empirical practitioner. Galen was a more formidable person to cope with, but he by good luck was now unable to attend, being engrossed by the work of bringing out an enlarged edition of his treatise on fevers. Possibly this means that this work was at that time being edited or adapted by some writer on medicine at Constantinople. All this, the sophist continued, was in their favour, and in other respects the court was satisfactory. For Aeacus and Minos, though heathens, were strictly just, and complete toleration was established in Hades, every man being allowed to adhere to his own religious persuasion. Still, as the tenets of the Galilaeans had pervaded all Europe and a great part of Asia, 'Providence' thought good (*ἔδοξε τῇ προνοίᾳ*) to appoint a third judge to sit along with the heathen judges. The name of the person selected for this office comes upon us as a great surprise. We should have expected that a writer of that age would fix on some one distinguished by rigid orthodoxy; but, on the contrary, it is a vigorous iconoclast, the Emperor Theophilus, who lived early in the ninth century, and was famed for his impartial justice.

They now move onwards, the two friends and the two conductors of the dead, the latter of whom receive warning that they will be summoned to trial for arresting a soul under false pretences. After journeying for two miles they perceive a light in the distance, and when they reach it find themselves in a delightful spot, closely resembling Dante's Earthly Paradise, where there are groves and shrubberies, with singing-birds, and

green turf, and falling water, and a wide river running through it; here there is eternal spring, and the fruits never wither on the trees. This is the Elysian plain and asphodel meadow. Within it is held the court of justice, and here Minos, Aeacus, and Theophilus the 'Galilaeen' are found in session, the two former being gaily attired, while the Christian Emperor wears dark and squalid garments; this is here said to have been his custom in life, though the point is not noticed by contemporary historians. By his side stands a prompter, whose sexless appearance, white raiment, and beaming countenance excite Timarion's curiosity; and he is informed, with a slightly profane allusion to the idea of a guardian angel, which we should hardly expect to meet with in an orthodox Byzantine writer, that every Christian emperor has such an angel assigned to him to suggest how he should act, and that the one who attended on Theophilus had accompanied him to the world below.

The trial which follows is a sort of travesty of an Athenian lawsuit, though modified, probably, so as to suit the forms of Byzantine procedure. The accused, Oxybas and Nyction, are brought into court by the *εἰσαγγεῖς*, and at a signal from one of these, the rhetorician, after composing his countenance and folding his hands, commences *ore rotundo* the speech for the prosecution. In this he points out that the laws of the dead prescribed that no soul may be brought down to Hades, unless some vital organ has been destroyed, and that even then three days must elapse before the conductors of the dead are allowed to seize it; in Timarion's case, not only had these been disregarded, but there were traces of blood about his soul, which proved that he was not properly dead when he was carried off. When Minos, who from the first seems disposed to take a severe view of the case, sharply orders the accused to give an account of their proceedings, Nyction, after referring to their long experience of their office, which dated from the time of Cronos, replies by appealing to the dictum of the physicians with regard to the four elementary humours, and showing that they had reason to believe that he had lost one of them. The matter thus becomes a question for the medical referees, and the judges adjourn the trial till the third day, so as to allow of their being consulted. Meanwhile both parties in the dispute are conducted to a region of twilight, which intervenes between Elysium and the

land of total darkness, and regale themselves on the fragrant herbs that grow there.

When the morning of the third day appeared, they returned to the court, where they found Aesculapius and Hippocrates seated along with the judges; the former having his face enveloped in a transparent veil, from a foolish pride about revealing his divinity, though it allowed of his seeing through it; while Hippocrates wore a tall turban and a single garment reaching to his feet, and had a long beard and closely-shaven crown. After the clerk of the court had read the minutes of the previous proceedings, and Aesculapius and Hippocrates had had a private consultation with Erasistratus, the symptoms of the patient and the circumstances of his death were minutely inquired into; during which proceeding the volubility and self-assertion of Theodore of Smyrna made so great an impression on Hippocrates, that he took the opportunity of asking for information about him. Ultimately the question turned on the condition of Timarion's soul, and to inquire into this two examiners, called Oxydercion and Nyctoleustes ('Sharpeye' and 'Nightspy'), were appointed; they reported that it was in an impure state, and that tiny particles of flesh and blood were still adhering to it. This evidence of the experts was at once appealed to by the counsel for the prosecution, as showing that the elementary bile could not have been exhausted, for otherwise the soul would have separated easily and cleanly from the body. The arguments on both sides being now concluded, silence was proclaimed in the court, and the judges, after conferring with the physicians, gave their votes by ballot, and the result was in favour of the plaintiff. Oxybas and Nyction were deposed from their office of conductors of the dead, and Timarion was ordered to be restored to life.

While the sentence was being written out, a new person is introduced, called 'the Byzantine sophist,' who is the chief officer of the court under the judges, having been appointed to that office on account of his cleverness in extemporizing. Who he was we recognise, as we did Michael Palaeologus before, by a play on his name. He is described as speaking indistinctly (*ὑποψελλίζων*), and this word suggests that he is Michael Psellus, the most learned man in the Byzantine empire during the eleventh century, who held the office of Prince of Philoso-

phers, *i.e.* chief teacher of philosophy and dialectic, at Constantinople, and played no inconsiderable part in the politics of his time. This view is confirmed by other circumstances which are here mentioned. He now receives the judgment from the bench, and dictates it to the scribe, after which the court rises. And as they departed, 'all the Christians shouted aloud, and leapt for joy, and embraced the sage of Smyrna, and extolled him to the skies for his skilful arguments, and the method and arrangement of his speech,'—a truly Greek proceeding.

The duty of reconducting Timarion to the upper world is entrusted to the *εἰσαγωγεὺς*. On the return journey he visits the abode of the philosophers, a quiet retreat resembling that in which they are assembled in Dante's Limbo, and sees many of the sages of ancient Greece calmly conversing together, and discussing various tenets. Their tranquillity, however, was on this occasion disturbed by an untoward incident. This was a violent altercation between Diogenes the Cynic and Johannes Italus, the clever and prolific writer who succeeded Psellus in the office of Prince of Philosophers, and was a bitter opponent of his. This man, as we learn from contemporary writers, was headstrong in his opinions, so that for a time he was regarded as a heresiarch, and arrogant and passionate in disputation; these peculiarities are here caricatured, and the good-humoured tone of the satire passes for once into violent invective. After a while Cato interposes, and having separated the combatants, conducts the Byzantine into the company of the dialecticians, but they also rise up against him and pelt him with stones as a charlatan. Shortly afterwards Psellus appears, and is received with friendliness and respect, though not on terms of equality, by the philosophers, but with enthusiasm by the dialecticians, who pay him the highest compliments, and offer him the president's chair. From the contrast which is thus drawn between these leaders, we should gather that the rivalry between their followers, or at all events the controversy with regard to their respective merits, had not died out when this satire was composed. Theodore of Smyrna also comes in for some further criticisms; and altogether, throughout this part of the narrative, the elaborate terms which are used for the different branches of the science of oratory, the profusion of epithets applied to grace of style, and the gusto with which a

bold and felicitous expression is quoted, impress the reader forcibly with the importance attached at this period to the study of rhetoric in all its branches.

At this point Timarion takes leave of his friendly advocate, and that kind-hearted epicure, in the midst of many affectionate speeches, does not fail to specify the articles which he desires to be forwarded to him in acknowledgment of his services—'a lamb five months old; two three-year-old fowls, hens, fattened and killed, like those that poulterers have for sale in the market with the fat neatly extracted from the stomach and laid upon the thighs; a sucking-pig one month old; and a good rich fleshy sow's paunch.' Resuming his journey, our traveller takes a passing glance at Nero and other cruel tyrants in history, among whom Philaretus, a hard-handed Armenian usurper of the eleventh century, holds a conspicuous place, undergoing the same unsavoury punishment as the flatterers in Dante's *Inferno*; and at last reaches the mouth of the pit, through which he ascends and once more sees the stars. His return to his body is described as follows:—

'Now when I knew not which way to turn to reach my body, I was borne along through the air as if carried by the wind, till I came to the river and recognised the house in which my poor body lay. There, on the river's bank, I said farewell to my conductor, and leaving him, entered through the opening in the roof, a device which has been invented for the escape of smoke from the hearth,'—this looks as if chimneys, which were almost unknown to the Greeks and Romans, were now coming in—and approaching close to my body entered through the mouth and nostrils. I found it very cold, owing to the frosty winter season, and still more to its having been dead; and that night I felt like a person with a violent chill. The next day, however, I packed up my things, and continued my journey to Constantinople.'

The satirical romance, of which a sketch has thus been given, is certainly amusing, and not wanting in originality. Though somewhat discursive and episodical in its plan, it is full of movement from first to last: it passes by rapid transitions from grave to gay; its sketches of men and manners are very graphic; and its style is lively and often epigrammatic. Owing to its notices of historical characters, and its descriptions of life and

customs, for which we look in vain in ordinary Byzantine writers, it cannot fail to interest those who care for the history of the Eastern empire. If any of the questions which it makes the object of special criticism, such as exploded medical theories, have lost their point for us; the same can be said of satire in all ages, where it does not deal with matters of universal application, and will certainly be the case in future days with much of the humorous criticism of our time. This is also true of descriptions of the characteristics of persons, who were then well known, but are now either altogether unknown to us, or at the best but shadowy figures; we experience the same difficulty when we try to become familiar with some of the characters in Aristophanes. But notwithstanding these drawbacks, 'Timarion's Sufferings' is a remarkable work, and we have good reason to be satisfied that it has been preserved.

The other Byzantine satire, which we are to notice, and which forms in many ways a strong contrast to this, is

THE SOJOURN OF MAZARIS IN HADES.

At the time when this was written the Byzantine empire had become a shadow of its former self. Instead of including, as it did under the Comneni, a large part of Asia Minor, and in Europe an extent of country as great as, though not exactly corresponding to, European Turkey before the Treaty of Berlin, it was now restricted to Constantinople and the neighbouring district, a few of the islands, as Lemnos and Thasos, Thessalonica, and the greater part of the Peloponnese. The Fourth Crusade had intervened, and by it the fabric of the Eastern empire had been shattered in pieces and its territory partitioned; and though the Greeks afterwards regained possession of the capital, and gradually reannexed several of the provinces, yet the body had now lost its power of cohesion. Meanwhile the Ottoman Turks had appeared on the scene, and extending their conquests from Asia to Europe, had absorbed one after another of the possessions of the Christians. Yet the second decade of the fifteenth century, to which 'Mazaris' is shown to belong by the events which it mentions, was in some degree a period of revival. Though the expedition of Manuel Palaeologus II. to Western Europe had sufficiently proved to the Greeks that there was

no hope of substantial aid from that quarter, yet the great blow which the Ottoman power received through the defeat of Sultan Bajazet by Timour at the battle of Angora in 1402 secured to the Greeks a respite, which they employed in strengthening their position. The terms of contempt with which Bajazet is spoken of in this satire (ὁ κατὰπτυστος ἐκεῖνος σατράπης), and the title of 'invincible' applied to the emperor (ὁ ἀήττητος αὐτοκράτωρ), would have been almost absurd in the time of his predecessor, John V., who formally acknowledged himself a vassal of the Sultan. Yet, as we read it, we feel that the society which it describes is that of a kingdom doomed to fall. The disaffection among the provincials, and still more the want of patriotism, the egotism and self-seeking, of the upper class, and the narrow and petty subjects which occupied their thoughts, show that no true spirit remained on which a vigorous resistance could be based.

The story of Mazaris need not detain us very long, for it is not the prominent feature, as in *Timarion*, but serves rather as a framework for the satire and invective, which it is the writer's object to give vent to. Like the former tale, it describes the illness of the narrator, which in this case was owing to a violent epidemic that visited Constantinople, probably in the year 1414. He speaks of his desolate condition, when his friends and relations, who were in the same plight, were unable to visit him, and his sick-bed was watched, not by physicians, but by the ravens who were waiting for his remains. At last he fell asleep, and was conscious of being carried off at dead of night, he knew not how, until he found himself in a wide and deep valley. If any one doubts his veracity, he challenges him to bring a suit against him in the court of Minos, Aeacus, and Rhadamanthys, in order that, if convicted, he may suffer the punishment they shall impose. The account given of the passage to Hades is vague enough, and forms a strong contrast to the elaborate details given in *Timarion*; but this same absence of explanation is characteristic of other descriptions of the same kind, such as those in the *Odyssey* and in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, in both of which it would be equally difficult to say in what way the transition is effected. We may notice in passing another point of correspondence between the *Inferno* of Mazaris and that of Aristophanes, in the introduction of myrtle-groves in both.¹

¹ *Ar. Rev.* 156.

The valley in which Mazaris was deposited contained a crowd of dead persons, all naked, and mingled indiscriminately together; but some of them were marked with numerous weals, the result of their former sins, while others were free from these ignominious tokens. The idea here expressed, though it appears in various forms in several ancient writers, was probably derived by the author from Lucian's *Cataplus*, where it is said that the crimes that a man commits become invisible punctures on his soul, which make themselves manifest on his form after death.¹ One of these persons soon recognised him by his limping gait, a peculiarity of his which is several times referred to, and which, we can hardly doubt, arose from the gout, for he suffered from that disease, and the same epithet, (*κυλλοποδίων*) that is applied to him is subsequently used of another gouty subject. From this it would seem that good living was still a vice of the Byzantines. This man addresses him with an adaptation of the first words of the *Hecuba*, the same which Menippus had used at the beginning of the *Necyomanteia*, and then proceeds to question him about the latest news from the Imperial court, his interest in which proclaims him one of its former inmates. His name was Holobolus, and he is described as having a prominent aquiline nose, the sharpness of which corresponds to his extreme inquisitiveness; in his lifetime he had been a rhetorician and physician, and one of the Emperor's secretaries, and from the character which is subsequently given of him, and the traits which show themselves in the course of conversation, we see in him the type of the place-hunting, backbiting, scandal-mongering courtier. Among other pieces of advice which he offers to Mazaris, he urges him to betake himself to the Morea, and to attach himself to one of those in authority in that country in the hope of advancement—a suggestion which the recipient has reason subsequently to believe to have been made in a malicious spirit. The Morea at that time was ruled by Theodore Palaeologus II., the elder brother of the last emperor of Constantinople, Constantine XI., with the title of despot, which was now regularly conferred on the member of the imperial family who governed that province.

When Mazaris recognises Holobolus, whom, owing to his nakedness and the numerous scars on his person, he had not

¹ Lucian, *Cataplus*, c. 24, cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 524 E.

discovered before, he inquires of him the cause of the miserable change in his appearance; whereupon Holobolus leads him to a place a little further off, where they can rest under the shade of a spreading bay-tree, and there recounts to him the story of his rise to power, which culminated in his accompanying the Emperor Manuel on his journey to France and England, subsequently to which he had a prospect of being appointed to the office of Grand Logothete. Afterwards, with many tears, he gives an account of his fall, which was owing primarily to a disgraceful intrigue with a nun, which led him to neglect his official duties, and gave his enemies a handle against him; but it was embittered by the treacherous artifices by which his secrets were wormed out of him, and by the purloining of his confidential papers when he lay on his deathbed, which he intended either to have burnt or to have had buried with him. During this conversation, which is supposed to have been conducted in perfect privacy, mention is made of many of the public men of the time, and among them, in no complimentary terms, of an important person, called Padiates, who had greatly influenced, for good or for evil, the fortunes of both the interlocutors. Suddenly at this point a figure arises from the myrtle bushes in the neighbourhood, and to their no small confusion the great Padiates himself (*Παδιάτης ὁ πᾶν*), who has been lying in ambush, and has overheard the whole dialogue, stands before them, with fury depicted on his countenance, and a club in his hands. Thereupon a vigorous altercation follows, interlarded with strong vituperation; and this at last becomes so intolerably personal, that Padiates raises his club, and fells Holobolus to the ground.

The outcry and excitement caused by this occurrence soon bring numbers of the dead up to the spot, and foremost among them Pepagomenus, once the court physician, who attends to the wounded man, and stanches the blood with a healing herb. He is anxious for news of his two sons, one of whom was about the court, the other practising as a physician. Then other courtiers follow in turn, and as all are anxious for the latest information from the new-comer, opportunity is given both for ridiculing their peculiarities, and for satirizing the living through their mouths. One of these inquires about his former mistress, whose bloom, he is told, has now faded, and whose large fortune

has been squandered; another wishes to hear of a man who defrauded him of money, and whom he intends to indict as soon as he comes down below. Several ask after their sons, towards whom, as a general rule, they seem to bear no good will—one, who is described as dyeing his hair and beard black with ravens' eggs, inquiring about a son who has apostatised to Mahometanism; a second, whether his sons are eavesdroppers as he was himself; and so on. By the time that the reader has had his fill of this kind of scandal, Holobolus has recovered; and rising up he takes Mazaris by the hand, and leads him to a spot corresponding to the descriptions of Elysium, where there are elms and plane trees and singing-birds. But even in this happy place the topics of conversation are the same, for the imperial choir-master, Lampadarius, whom he finds here, takes the opportunity, when speaking of his surviving relations, of lashing the monks (*vaçipaçoi*) in no measured language, saying that the monastic dress is made to conceal all kinds of licentiousness; the same charge comes up in other parts of the story. Long before this, Mazaris had complained that his head ached with listening and talking, and at last Holobolus suggests to him a mode of escape. Pointing out to him the deep bed of a stream in the neighbourhood, shaded with trees, he tells him to make a pretence of retiring thither, and adds that, when he has concealed himself there for a little while, he will be able to return to the upper world again.

In this somewhat abrupt way the narrative ends, but not the entire piece. There follow four compositions, which are intended to form a pendant to what precedes, though no actual attempt is made to connect them with it. The first of these is a dialogue between Mazaris, after his return to life, and Holobolus, which, both from its heading, and from the way in which it is subsequently spoken of, must be regarded as taking place in a dream; the three others are letters written in connection with it. The object aimed at in all of them is evidently to satirize the Moreotes. In the dream Mazaris complains to Holobolus that he had practised upon him with his former deceptive arts, in advising him to make his fortune in the Morea, for though he had been residing there fourteen months he was in a worse plight than before, and began to doubt whether Tartarus or Peloponnesus was the most objectionable. Holobolus replies that, having

himself visited that country in company with the Emperor, he had received large presents, and had every reason to be satisfied; but he would be glad to hear what the real state of things is. Accordingly, it is arranged that Mazaris shall send him a letter on the subject by the hands of some one lately dead by way of Taenarum, that entrance to the lower world being near Sparta—that is, Misithra or Mistra, the Byzantine headquarters in that province—where Mazaris was residing. The letter, which follows, mentions the visit of the Emperor Manuel to the Morea, and his constructing the fortification across the Isthmus of Corinth, which was intended to check the advance of the Turks; but it is mostly occupied with virulent detraction of all classes inhabiting the peninsula, but especially of the local governors or archonts (here called *παπαρχοί*) on account of their resistance to the emperor. The next letter purports to be from Holobolus in Hades to a physician, Nicephorus Palaeologus Ducas, with the object of consoling him for his enforced residence in Peloponnesus and the loss of the enjoyments of Constantinople, which latter he enumerates with the enthusiasm with which a Parisian in exile might speak of the delights of Paris. The remedy which he recommends to him is a draught of the water of Lethe, which he says he has himself partaken of, though notwithstanding this he rather inconsistently recurs to past pleasures and chagrins. This letter, as might be expected, has a sting in its tail, for it ends with malicious insinuations on the part of Holobolus with regard to some supposed malpractices of his correspondent. Palaeologus in his reply does not fail to fasten on the weak point in his assailant's remarks, and twits him with the poor effect the draught of forgetfulness seems to have had in his case.

The suddenness of the conclusion at this point, and the want of method in all the latter part, show how much more satire and detraction were aimed at by the author than literary completeness. This feature requires to be borne in mind in estimating the work and its contents. Though we can hardly doubt, after reading it, that the Greek Kingdom, the life of which it describes from a courtier's point of view, deserved its impending fate, yet it is evident that the writer was a man of a bitter and malevolent spirit, who took the worst view of the men of his time, and was greatly influenced by personal spite and jealousy. Our interest

in it would probably be increased, if we knew more of the personages spoken of. Unfortunately, almost all of them are names to us and nothing more, owing to the absence of any contemporary history of the period. But for this very reason the story has a value of its own, as throwing light on the state of society in an obscure age, and furnishing evidence with regard to certain facts of history. Thus, we hear of the Emperor Manuel's progress to Thasos, Thessalonica, and the Peloponnese, and of the measures he set on foot there to consolidate his power. Neighbouring Christian states are mentioned, where Holobolus advises Mazaris, if he cannot ultimately get profitable employment in the Morea, to betake himself either to Crete, which was then in the possession of Venice, or to the despot of Cephalonia—that is, Charles Tocco II., who at this time was in possession of part of Elis and Achaia. We see the close connection existing between the inhabitants of Constantinople and the people of Wallachia, from the mention of Greeks going to that country from the capital, and making large fortunes in the service of the voivodes, just as has been the case in later times, when the hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia were chosen from among the Fanariote Greeks. The Turkish names which are borne by persons of some position at Constantinople,—Seselkoï, Meliknasar, Aidin (Αἰτίνης)—are an evidence of the influence which the future conquerors had already begun to exercise. Finally, the condition of the Peloponnese is largely illustrated; but this point I leave, for a detailed account of the state of things in that province belongs rather to a historical notice of the time than to our present subject.

The language in which 'Timarion' and 'Mazaris' are composed is the contemporary Greek that was used in the Byzantine court and in polite conversation. This spoken language was the lineal descendant of Hellenic, as distinguished from Romaic, Greek; and therefore, as this continued to be used until the overthrow of the Empire, Dr. Ellissen's statement is true, that Hellenic Greek first became a dead language after the fall of Constantinople.¹ It differed, that writer remarks, on the one hand, from the language used in the regular Byzantine literature, and on the other, far more widely from the popular Greek of the period. The former of these, though based on the same "common"

¹ Ellissen, *Analekten*, vol. iv. part 1, p. 37.

dialect of the Macedonian Greeks, as it had been transmitted with various modifications by the later Greek writers and the fathers of the Church, was yet to a great extent a factitious language, the uniformity of which was maintained by traditional imitation of Attic authors, and which approached nearer to, or receded further from, the classical standard according to the cultivation of the writer. The latter was the humbler, but not less lineal, descendant of ancient Greek, which diverged from the written language certainly as early as the fourth century after Christ, and by the end of the ninth century was the only Greek intelligible to the great bulk of the people; when the Greeks ceased to be a nation, it became universal, and a refined idiom of it—the ‘*volgare illustre*,’ as Dante might say—is the Modern Greek of the present day. But though poetical compositions of some merit existed in the popular language in the time of the Comneni, yet the ‘good society’ of Constantinople held aloof from it; so much so, that even a person who sympathised with the provincials, like the excellent Archbishop Michael Acominatus of Athens at the end of the twelfth century, could profess after three years’ residence in that city, that he could hardly understand the dialect spoken there;¹ and the author of ‘*Mazaris*’ during his residence at Sparta, when speaking of the speech of the Tzakones in the neighbourhood of that place—whose name he identifies, like some modern writers, with that of the Lacones—quotes as specimens of their barbarous idiom words, most of which are ordinary Romaic forms, and are not peculiar, if they belong at all, to that singular dialect, thus betraying his ignorance of the popular Greek. We may notice in passing, how great an advance has been made in the study of Modern Greek, when we find Hase saying, in speaking of these Tzaconian words—that they may be of some interest to those who ‘*prétendent que le grec vulgaire, tel à peu près qu’il est parlé aujourd’hui par le peuple, remonte à une époque bien antérieure à la prise de Constantinople.*’²

The Greek of *Mazaris*, however, is considerably debased from that of *Timarion*, a natural result of nearly three centuries of misfortune and degradation which elapsed between them. This

¹ See the passage quoted by M. Lambros in his pamphlet, *Αἱ Ἀθήναι περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ δωδεκάτου αἰῶνος*, p. 45.

² *Notices des Manuscrits*, vol. ix. part 2, p. 136.

is traceable partly in the growth of unclassical usages, especially in respect of faults of syntax; but far more in the vocabulary. In Timarion we meet with many rare words, which are either genuinely classical or are found in later Greek, and these are interesting to the student. But in Mazaris it is a sign of depraved taste that far-fetched expressions and extravagance of language are cultivated for their own sake, and poetical, comic, ancient and modern, sacred and profane, even dialectic words are introduced in the oddest way, so as to produce a strange jumble. It may be worth while to give some instances of these. Far-fetched expressions are such as *ἀρχιθύτης* for the Patriarch of Constantinople, *πίστιν χαμαιλεοντικήν* for 'untrustworthy allegiance.' As dialectic forms we may notice *ἐξεφαάνθη* and *αἶδαο*: as Homeric words *βροτολογός* and *κυλλοποδίων*: as poetical words *πολύμνητος*, *οὔρεσίτροφος*, *ἐλέπολις*—and many others might be added, though it is to be observed that some words which are poetical in classical writers passed into more common use at a later time. But the largest contribution to the vocabulary of extravagance is derived from the comedians; as, *κεκοισυρωμένη* for 'a self-indulgent woman,' *κυμνοπρίστης* 'a skin-flint,' *ἀνθοσμίας* 'wine with a bouquet,' *ώρακιᾶν* 'to faint,' *φληναφᾶν*, or rather, as it appears here, *φληναφεῖν*, 'to babble'; and the way in which *τετρεμαίνω*, *ἀπεριμερίμνως*, and numerous other words are casually introduced shows how thoroughly the writer's language was steeped in Aristophanes. Mixed with these occur mediaeval terms, which, though most of them are used by the Byzantine historians, yet in a work of fiction, like the present, fall strangely on a modern ear; as *καβαλλάριος*, 'knight,' *δομεστικός*, here 'a church officer,' *δρουγγάριος*, 'military or naval commander,' *βοεβόδα*, 'voivode,' *ἰνδικτος*, 'the indiction,' and others derived from a Western source, as *μπαντιάτης*, 'bandit,' *ποτεστάτος*, the 'podestà' of the Genoese settlement at Galata, *φλωρίον*, 'florin.' Even a Turkish word is found—*σούπασις*, *i.e.* *subashî*, the name of a Turkish officer. The medley of language thus produced conduces not a little to the bizarre character of the entire composition, which renders it exceedingly amusing.

A further peculiarity is the quotations, which the author is never tired of introducing. He was evidently very familiar with the classical literature, for he quotes Homer, Hesiod, Sophocles,

Euripides, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Aristotle, and Theocritus; to which we may add the Septuagint, the New Testament, Lucian, Synesius, and Gregory Nazianzen: and the passages taken from these are evidently not obtained by him at second-hand. Sometimes they occur without notice as part of the narrative or dialogue, sometimes they are prefaced by *κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν* or *κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα*, less frequently the name of the writer is given. They are made to suit all kinds of subjects. A pretender to omniscience is *τὸν οἰόμενον εἶδέναι τὰ τ' ὄντα τὰ τ' ἔσσομενα* *πρὸ τ' ὄντα*: a person of low origin is spoken of as *φορῶν διφθέραν*: a man in fear says *πεφόβημαι καθάπερ πτηνὴς ὄμμα πελείας*: one seeking revenge is told *ἔσχες κότον ὄφρα τελέσσης*: Mazaris is advised to leave the Peloponnese, if he is in poverty, *ἵνα μὴ λιμώξῃς ὥς κύων καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην κυκλοῖς*. A curious mixture of passages is seen in *ἐπειδήπερ, καθ' Ὅμηρον, μόρον ἀμήχανον, κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ σαντὸν καθείρῃς, οὐχ ὑπαλύξαις*. Homer and Aristophanes are the authors most often cited, especially the latter, whom he speaks of as *ὁ κωμικός*, and of all his plays the *Plutus* is the one which occurs to him most readily. Plays on words and names are also of frequent occurrence. We have seen that these are found occasionally in Timarion, and even Lucian does not altogether despise them, as when in the *Vera Historia* the island of cheese in the sea of milk is said to have a temple of *Γαλάτεια*, and to have been ruled by *Τυρώ*, daughter of *Salmoneus*.¹ But in Mazaris they are rampant. Now and then they are mere puns on ordinary words or names of places, introduced for the sake of the jingle of sound, as *ἀντὶ ἰατρῶν τοὺς τοῦ θανάτου κήρυκας κόρακας*, where the resemblance will be better seen if we remember the modern pronunciation; *μᾶλλον παιδείας χάριν ἢ παιδιᾶς γέγραφα*: and of descending to Hades by way of Taenarum it is said, *ἐς μόρον ἀπὸ Μώρας ἤξεις*—*Μώρα* being the form in which the name *Morea* is regularly found in this composition. But far more frequently they are parodies of names of persons. Sometimes these are intended to suggest a name, which for some reason is suppressed, like those of *Palaeologus* and *Psellus* in Timarion; this was no doubt instantly recognizable by contemporaries, and the resemblance is close enough for us at the present day to be able to make a shrewd guess at it. Thus *τοὺς διαβεβοημένους*

¹ *Vera Historia*, ii. 3.

ἄγλους καὶ κατ' ἀντίφρασιν ξανθοὺς ὑπούλους (' blonde hypocrites ') can hardly fail to mean persons called Xanthopoulos; similarly ὁ αἰοδὸς Πῶλος 'Argyropoulos; and 'Ονοκέντιος, which is shown to stand for a Western name by ὁ κατὰ Λατίνους being appended to it, seems to be an uncomplimentary rendering of Innocentius or perhaps Vincentius. The rest, where the real name is given, take the form of epithets or descriptions, in a few instances complimentary, as τὴν ἀντικρυσ ὡς ἐξ ἀνατολῆς λάμπουσιν, 'Ανατολικήν, but much more commonly opprobrious, for the purpose of ridiculing or flinging imputations at persons whom the author disliked. Such are—ὁ τὰς αἰγας πρότερον Μελγουσῆς ἀμέλγων—ἄσφοος Σοφιανός—ὡς ἀσπὶς βύων τὰ ὦτα, ἐκείνος ὁ 'Ασπιέταος, ὁ λόγοις μὲν ἡδυσπῆς, ἔργοις δ' ὥσπερ ἀσπὶς δάκνων—τοῦ τὰς αἰσθήσεις μεμυκῶτος Καμύτζη—ὁ ἐκ Πατροκλέους ἀφικόμενος 'Αλουσιάνος, with an allusion to Aristophanes' *Plutus* (84)—

—ἐκ Πατροκλέους ἔρχομαι,
 ὃς οὐκ ἐλούσατ' ἐξ ὅτουπερ ἐγένετο—

—Λούκιος, ἡ ὄνος, referring to Lucian's composition with that title. Some of these are amusing, some far-fetched, others contemptible; but this matters not to the writer, who cares little what his missile is, as long as he has something to throw. It is noticeable, what an intimate acquaintance with the classics he expects from his readers.

The foregoing remarks will have given some idea of the nature of the satire contained in this piece. It is coarse, unrestrained, and merciless. Here and there a really witty expression occurs, such as 'a ferryman of words' for 'an interpreter' (διαπορθμεὺς λόγων καὶ μηνυμάτων Λατίνων καὶ Γραικῶν), though possibly the idea here is borrowed from Plato, who uses διαπορθμεύω in the sense of 'to interpret':¹ yet, on the whole, it is the recklessness of expression, the bold caricature of contemporary characters, the burlesque humour that pervades it, and the drollery of the whole thing, which forms a sort of literary masquerade, that cause it to be amusing. No point is spared that leaves an opening for attack. At one time it is a man's ignoble origin, at another his personal defects or peculiarities—a halting gait, or

¹ Plato, *Sympos.* p. 202 E.

coppery-leadен complexion (μολυβδοχαλκόχρων Μαχητὰν ἐκείνων). The medical profession, in particular, comes in for much severer treatment than in 'Timarion.' A common expression for them is 'manslayers' (βροτολουργοί), and Pepagomenus, the court physician, is actually charged with having administered poison instead of medicine. Similar imputations are made on others, not without malicious puns—τοῦ κερβέρου Κωνώνη, τοῦ ἀντ' ἀλεξιτηρίου κόνειον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρεχόμενον, καὶ τοῦ ῥαδίως καὶ ἀναιμωτὶ πρὸς Χάρωνα τοὺς πονηρῶς ἔχοντας προσοδοποιουμένου Χαρσιανίταο. The power of vituperation which the author possesses is something surprising. The following epithets and depreciative expressions may be taken as specimens—βδελυγμία, λωποδύτης, μαιφόνος, παράληρος, κατάπτυστος, ἐπάρατος, παλαμναῖος, ἀλιτήριος, ἐμβρόντητος, ἰαπετός, βεκκεσέληνος, καταγεγαυρωμένος, ἐκκεκωφμένος, κολοιόφθαλμος φῶρ, Αἰθίοπος μελάντερος, ἐξ ἀγγέλων πονηρῶν ἀπόγονος: and sometimes the fuel of political and religious controversy is thrown in, as in λατινόφρων, 'partisan of the Latins,' συμβολομάχος, 'impugner of the faith,' ζιζανίων σπορεύς. It will easily be believed that there are others of a character far from delicate. But this abusiveness was suited to the times; indeed, if the language which Mazaris puts into the mouths of his characters at all represents the reality, the conversation of the inmates of the court of Constantinople at that period must have been of the coarsest description, and the facility with which, in addressing one another, they pass from ἄριστε φίλων to μάταιε, κάκιστε, μνησίκake, and so forth, implies a total absence of mutual respect.

Still, notwithstanding his personal enmities and love of detraction, the author of this narrative had a serious object in view. More than once he declares that he writes more in earnest than in jest (σπουδάζων μᾶλλον ἢ παίζων). He seems to have been awake to the evils of his time, especially to the incontinence of the upper classes and the monks, and to the corrupt administration of justice. In respect of this latter point, which presented the greatest danger—for throughout the long history of the Byzantine empire nothing had so much tended to hold its subjects together, and reconcile them to oppressive taxation, as the impartiality of the law-courts—a strong contrast is drawn between the verdicts in the world below, which are

given *δικαίως καὶ ἀπροσωπολήπτως*, ἔτι δὲ *ἀδωροδοκίῳ*, and those amongst the living, where personal influence prevailed, and the judges took bribes from both sides, so that justice was in the hands of the powerful and the wealthy. But the primary aim that Mazaris had in view was to support the Emperor Manuel, for whom he manifests a sincere respect, in the political reforms which he was attempting to introduce. These came too late for it to be possible for them to save the expiring state, but they were well intended, and the fact that the writer approved them shows that he belonged to the few who still cherished a feeling of patriotism. The opposition offered to these measures by the inhabitants of Peloponnesus was, as we have seen, the cause of the extreme bitterness with which he satirizes them.

The state of the dead which is here described, and the theology, so to speak, of the lower world, have as little consistency as any other part of the composition. One thing is agreed upon, namely, that the loss of the good things of this life is the greatest of all trials, and consequently the punishment which Lucian assigns to the rich man, that he should not be allowed to drink the water of Lethe, but should continue to remember his former enjoyments,¹ is here brought prominently forward. But though the righteous are distinguished in their appearance from the wicked, little or nothing is said on the subject of future happiness, and when a catalogue of punishments is given, Scriptural and Pagan expressions are inserted alternately. So, too, while God is conceived of as the ruler of the universe, Pluto, Persephone and Hermes are the governors in Hades, and in one passage the one and the others are invoked in successive sentences. But the greatest surprise is at the end, when, after the mention of all this classical apparatus, we are suddenly reminded that the last trumpet has yet to sound (*μέχρις ἂν τῆς τελευταίας ἐκείνης ἀκούσεως σάλπιγγος*). Perhaps the incongruity of all this is not greater than what is found in Dante's *Inferno*, only in that case the skill of the poet is shown in his reconciling us to it.

The two satires which we have thus examined may serve, I think, as a proof that an amusing element was not wanting in

¹ Lucian, *Cataplus*, 28, 29.

Byzantine literature. At first sight each of them, and particularly the latter, seems like a phenomenon in its age; indeed it would be hard to conceive a stronger contrast with the pedantry and solemnity which we usually associate with the court ceremonial of Constantinople, than is found in 'Mazaris.' Still more surprising is it, if we compare these descriptions of visits to the lower world with such a mediaeval Greek story as 'The Apocalypse of the Virgin'—a narrative, full of horrors, of the descent of the Virgin into Hell under the guidance of the Archangel Michael, of which M. Gidel has given an account in his *Nouvelles Études sur la Littérature grecque moderne* (pp. 313–330), and M. Polites a Modern-Greek translation in his *Νεοελληνική Μυθολογία* (vol. i. pp. 375–389)—to think that the same state of society should have produced both. At the same time we know that 'Timarion' and 'Mazaris,' though the only published specimens of these satirical compositions, are not the only existing ones; and those that have come down to us are not improbably the remains of what was once an extensive literature. Under the uniform surface, and the hard crust of custom, with which the life of the Eastern Empire was overlaid, there would seem to have been more variety than is generally imagined.

H. F. TOZER.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF SOUTHERN
AEOLIS.*(Continued from page 54).*PART II.—MYRINA, LARISSA, NEONTEICHOS, TEMNOS, AND
AEGAE.

ASIA MINOR, interposed like a bridge between Europe and Asia, has been from time immemorial a battlefield between the Eastern and Western races. Across this bridge the arts, civilisation, and religion of the East had passed into Greece; and back over the same bridge they strove to pass beautified and elevated from Greece into Asia. The progress of the world has had its centre and motive power in the never-ceasing collision of Eastern and Western thought, which was thus produced in Asia Minor. One episode in the long conflict has been chosen by Herodotus as the subject of his prose epic: but the struggle did not stop at the point he thought. It has not yet ended, though it has long ceased to be of central importance in the world's history. For centuries after he wrote Greek influence continued to spread, unhindered, further and further into Asia: but as the Roman empire decayed, the East again became the stronger, and Asia Minor has continued under its undisputed influence almost up to the present day. Now the tide has again turned, and one can trace along the western coast the gradual extinction of the Oriental element. It does not retreat, it is not driven back by war: it simply dies out by a slow yet sure decay. It is the aim of this set of papers to throw some light on one stage in this contest, a stage probably the least known of all, the first attempts of the Greek element to establish itself in the country round the

Hermus. Tradition has preserved to us little information about the first Greek settlements. The customary division into Aeolic, Ionic, and Doric colonists is not a sufficient one. Strabo clearly implies that there was a double Aeolic immigration when he says (p. 622) that Cyme founded thirty cities, and that it was not the first Aeolic settlement; in another passage (p. 582) he makes the northern colonists proceed by land through Thrace, the southern direct by sea to Cyme. I hope by an examination of the country and the situations, never as yet determined, of the minor towns, to add a little to the history of this Southern Aeolic immigration, in its first burst of prosperity, through the time when it was almost overwhelmed in the Lydian and Persian empires and was barely maintained by the strength of the Athenian confederacy, till it was finally merged in the stronger tide of Greek influence that set in with the victory of Alexander. More is known of Myrina, and still more of Cyme, than of any of the other towns: but both are omitted here, because it may be expected that considerable light will be thrown on the history of both by the excavations conducted on their sites by the French School of Athens. Till their results are published, it would be a waste of time to write of either city. The scanty records of the smaller towns will, however, supplement the history of the greater ones. Each furnishes something to a complete knowledge of the Aeolic emigrants: and the following study of their history will, it is hoped, be the precursor of a full account of the two greater cities in the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*. Myrina will be touched on here only in so far as a knowledge of its exact site is required to fix those of the other towns of Aeolis.

Colonel Leake (*Asia Minor*, p. 270) says, 'Even the most accessible parts of the valleys of the Hermus and Caicus, and of their interjacent ridges, are still very insufficiently explored With the exception of Temnus, we have no accurate information on the sites of any of the second-rate towns of this part of Asia Minor.' The list which he gives of these towns comprises Leucae, Phocaea, Cyme, Aegae, Myrina, &c., which shows how great a loss is thus caused to the history of the Greek settlements in Asia Minor. In the map of Kiepert, which forms the basis of all our knowledge of this district, a conjectural situation is given to most of these towns, but the

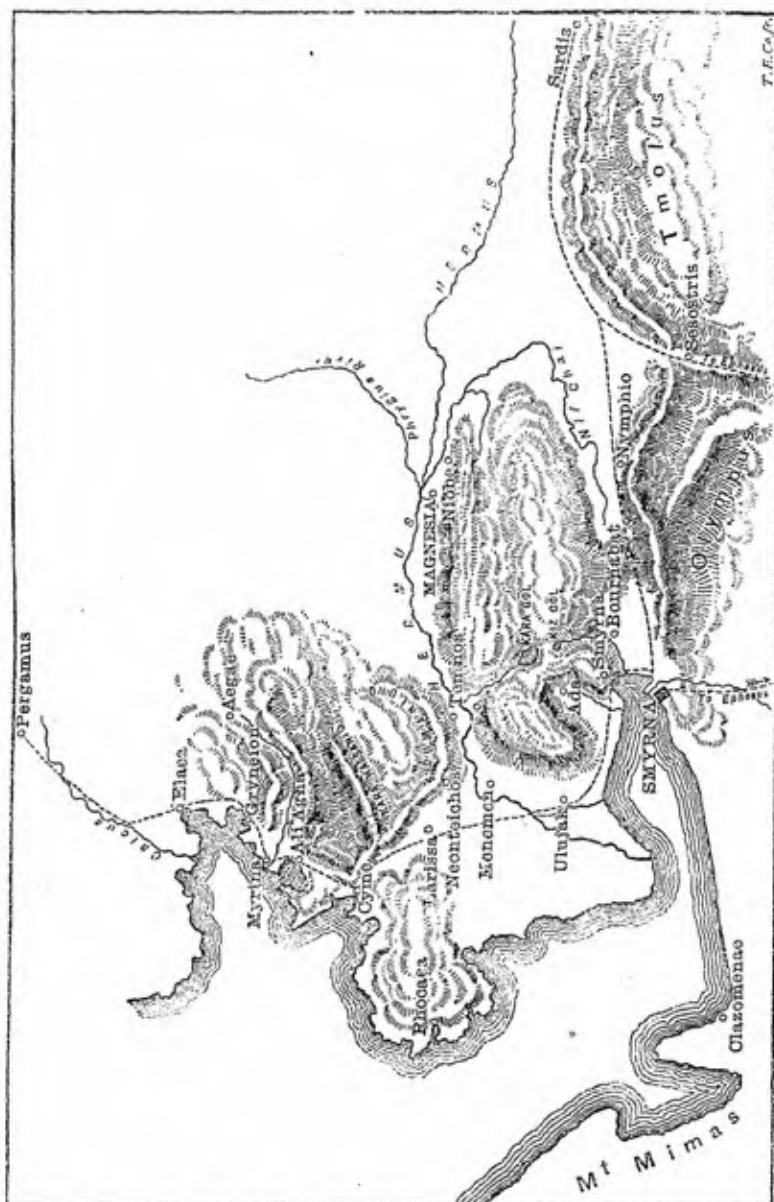
map is far from presenting an accurate representation of the actual state of the country as it now is,¹ and does not do much more than repeat the guesses of previous travellers. The situations of Cyme and Phocaea alone are fixed with certainty. The site of Temnos is given by Kiepert after Leake, but it is quite certain that Menemen, where it is placed, is a purely modern town, and that no ancient city existed there. In these circumstances no apology is needed for proposing a re-distribution of the ancient names, so long as the proposal is grounded on actual observation.

In the following notes my object has not been to record discoveries of my own, but to attempt to embrace in one view the ancient sites of Aeolis which I have visited, to show their position relatively to one another and to the main features of the country in which they lie, and, working on this basis, to exhibit in a clearer light the few facts recorded of their history. A number of the ruined cities that will be mentioned have not as yet been described, but I have no pretensions to have discovered them. Most of them have been known by name, at least to the few persons in the district who take an interest in such matters; the position of some of them was described to me by Greeks, of others by Europeans, and in neither case do I wish that the credit which belongs to the real discoverers should be assigned to me.² But the ancient names which I assign to these sites are, in most cases, not those which are currently apportioned to them, where any names at all are as yet given them by the local antiquaries; and the views expressed have been worked out, apart from all modern authorities, solely from a careful study of the character of the country, and the references of the ancients. My object in every journey has been not to look for walls, but to study history. A very slight fact often gains much meaning when taken in connection with the local features, and I have tried to understand better some

¹ Besides errors alluded to in the course of this article, I may mention the course assigned to the Nif Chai, or river of Nymphio, which really runs parallel to the Hermus as far as Magnesia before joining that river. Numberless errors occur in the accounts of Aeolis and of Phocaea in such hand-

books as Forbiger, Smith, &c.; and the only important river between the Hermus and the Caicus is not marked in the maps.

² I purposely refrain from ascribing each discovery to any particular person, as the honour is often claimed by more than one.



of the earlier steps in a most important historical fact, the Hellenisation of Western Asia Minor.

A sketch map is given, the object of which is to show the marked features of the country and no others. The lower valley of the Hermus is a wide alluvial plain, which the ancients considered to have been formed by the river and to have been originally covered by the sea (Strab. p. 621; Ael. Aristid. *Aegypt.* p. 351 [468]). On the north it is bounded by the Kara Hassân Dagħ and the Dumanlu Dagħ, two higher chains in a mountainous plateau; the latter or a part of it is called Sardene in a Homeric epigram. On the east the valley is bounded by Mt. Sipylus (Yamanlâr Dagħ). The Hermus flows between these two chains by a narrow pass which leads from the middle Hermus valley, that of Magnesia, to the lower valley. For a mile or two after leaving the Magnesian plain, the river has barely room to pass between the mountains: this place is named Bogħaz, 'The Gullet.' After this the river passes through the plain of Temnos (as I shall call it), which is about four miles wide and as many in length, till the mountains open and it enters on the wide lower valley. On the west this lower valley is bounded by the mountainous Phocæan peninsula, between which and the Kara Hassân Dagħ a narrow valley extends from the Hermus plain to the sea at Cyme.

The mountainous plateau which extends between the Hermus, the sea, and the Caicus, is an unknown land. It is broken on the west by one valley, that of the river Kodja, on which I have placed Myrina and Aegæe. The only time when I have gone any distance into the mountains was in visiting Namrût Kalessi, at the head of the river. Instead of following the river as we should have done, we went across the mountains over a waste of rocks and boulders, only once interrupted by a glen, green and beautiful, deep down among the hills. But there must be in the plateau many fertile glens in which several of the thirty cities founded from Cyme perhaps are yet to be discovered. The district is counted very unsafe. It is inhabited only by Turks, and is therefore dreaded by the Greek people of the low country; moreover at present the number of soldiers that have refused to serve and have taken to the mountains justifies to some extent its bad name. These mountains do not extend to the sea. Along the coast there is a strip of level

country, behind which gradual slopes of broken ground lead up to the higher mountainous plateau. South of the Kodja there is no river, only a few water-courses full after rain.

The Phocæan peninsula is of the same character, but the mountains are not so high and are more broken by glens. The peninsula would become an island if the sea level were a little higher; and the narrow valley leading from Cyme to the Hermus would be a channel of the sea.

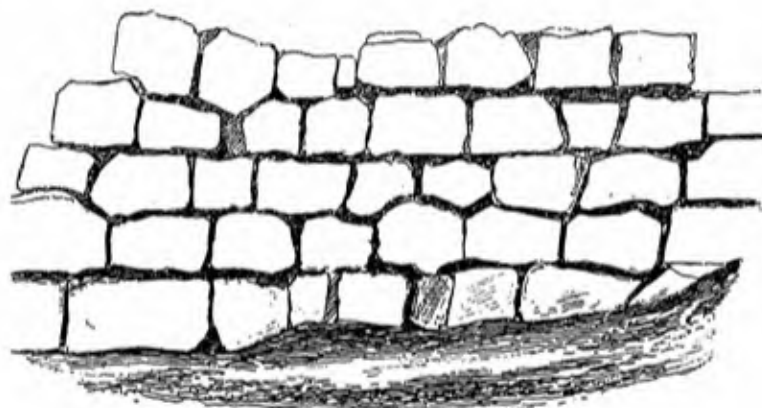
East of the Hermus the main feature is the mass of mountains called by the Greeks Sipylus. It is almost entirely isolated like an island in the plain; only at one point on the south a link of hills connects it with the main range, which extends from the interior through Tmolus and Olympus to the sea. West of this connecting link is the plain of Smyrna, completely shut in between the sea and the mountains. East is the plain of Nymphio, opening to the north on the middle Hermus valley.

In the scanty notices and traditions of the Aeolic settlement little is said of the inhabitants whom the Greeks found in the country. The coast in general was, according to Strabo, peopled by a Pelasgic race, one of whose chief strongholds was Larissa in the lower Hermus valley. Further inland was the empire of the Lydians, ruled by an Oriental dynasty which had brought with it the cultus of the Babylonian Herakles. This dynasty seems to have had no liking for the sea, and to have turned its thoughts wholly to the East; the Greek tradition preserves no record of any collision with Lydia till a new dynasty arose connected both in friendship and in enmity with the Greeks of the coast.

The Greek settlement had its centres in the island of Lesbos, interposed between Greece and Asia, and the city of Cyme. The name of Cyme points to the old Euboean city, which was one of the oldest centres of Hellenic colonisation and commerce, and which had given way to younger rivals almost before history begins. Tradition, however, and the common epithet Phrykonitis point to Mount Phrikion in Locris as the old home of the colonists. But it is well known that colonising centres did not send out only their own inhabitants. Emigrants sent forth by Apollo as a *ver sacrum* or from some other motive, congregated at the great maritime cities and sailed from them in their

fleets. From the Asiatic Cyme and from Lesbos this settlement proceeded, but before trying to trace its course, we must fix the position of the towns which they founded. In doing so I shall assume the points that I have tried to establish about the direction of the Roman road between Smyrna and Pergamus, and the distances of the several stages. It passed through Larissa, 23 or 24 miles, Cyme 33 miles, Myrina 42 miles, Gryneion about 47 miles, and Elaea 54 miles.

I begin with Myrina, which is placed by Kiepert at Ali Agha. There is no sign that a Greek city ever existed there, and it is too near Cyme to suit the distance which has been assigned between Cyme and Myrina, nine Roman miles. Ali Agha is about four miles north of Cyme, and about four miles further



WALL OF MYRINA.

on one reaches a place called Kalabak Serai, 'the Mansion of Kalabak.' Here at the end of the fertile plain of the Kodja Chai, 'Big River,' and on its north bank close to the sea, is a grassy hill about 200 feet high. The sides seem to have been scarp'd to make it a little steeper, and above are the remains of a Hellenic wall. It is built in a transition style common in this country, generally in horizontal courses, but sometimes the lines grow irregular and the style becomes almost 'Cyclopean.'

¹ Kalabak is a village some distance inland among the mountains. I give the current explanation of the name, which is pronounced Kalábasseri.

No angle remains, but a number of large square-cut stones lying at one part of the hill show that the corners were more carefully and finely built. In the plain of the Kodja we might expect more than one Aeolic settlement, if it be fully explored.¹ The river is joined near its mouth by the Kondúz Chai, 'Otter River,' a watercourse dry except after rain; it seems to be the river marked in Kiepert's map at Ali Agha and called Kundura Chai.

On the slope beneath the city and on the neighbouring hills are thousands of graves. Irregular excavations had long been made here, and objects thus obtained were common in Smyrna shops; but fortunately the work was undertaken in a systematic fashion by the French School of Athens last summer, and still continues with valuable results. The full account, when published in the *Bulletin*, will doubtless throw much light on the history of the city. The coins which have been found on this spot are, I believe, always of Myrina, a fact noticed by Mr. Pullan (*Ruins of Asia Minor*, p. 8) in his account of a visit to this place, which he also recognises as the site of Myrina.

Texier (*Asie Mineure*, p. 223) gives the name of the river that flows by Myrina as Xanthus, but his only authority is that the name is given on coins of Cyme to a river-god. But a passage in the historian Agathias leaves no doubt on the point. In his preface, p. 9, he says that he was born in Myrina of Aeolis, at the mouth of the river Pythicos, which flows out of Lydia (ῥέων ἐκ Λυδίας τῆς χώρας κ.τ.λ.). Between the Hermus and the Caicus there is only one river to which this description can apply, viz., the Kodja Chai. No other watercourse is long enough to be said to rise in Lydia; in fact there is no other river along the coast so far as I have seen it, but merely brooks from the hill-sides and winter torrents. Myrina therefore was situated at the mouth of the Kodja Chai. The Xanthus of Cymæan coins is either some brook beside the city, or the torrent which runs in a broad deep channel close to Larissa on the western side of the lower Hermus valley.² During great part of the year it is dry, and its channel is only a deep chasm; but after rain it is an impassable torrent, and as

¹ I shall have occasion to speak of it later in connection with the site of Aegae.

² Marked on Kiepert's large map, but not in the sketch map here given.

the bridge which once spanned it is now lying in ruins at the bottom, the traveller who attempts to cross the valley, two feet or more deep in mud at such a time, has to make a circuit of several miles to get round it. In the Roman period Larissa was a mere village, and Cyme possessed the country up to the Hermus: it is therefore natural that it should on its coins boast of Xanthus and Hermus as its rivers.

Three ways were open to the Aeolic inhabitants of Cyme to spread their colonies, along the coast to the south and north, and straight inland to the Hermus valley: and they seem to have used all three. The whole Phocaeen peninsula originally belonged to them, till the settlers who came to Phocaea obtained it from them by agreement (Paus. vii. 3). The boundary between Cyme and Phocaea was fixed at an intermediate point on the coast (Str. p. 647). On the fertile strip of country between New Phocaea (a town founded in the thirteenth century by the Genoese for the sake of the rich alum mines) and Cyme we might look for Cymaeen settlements. The antiquities found at New Phocaea are all Cymaeen. Here probably lay the Kyllene of Xenophon (*Cyr.* vii.), or the Ascanius portus, which Pliny (v. 32) names between Phocaea and Cyme. But the rest of the mountainous peninsula had little to tempt them, and they resigned it to the Phocaeans.

The north road was more tempting, and probably Myrina at the mouth of its fertile valley was one of their earliest settlements.¹ Between Cyme and Myrina lay Adae (Str. 622). From Myrina the settlement proceeded up the Pythicos valley to Aegae, to which I shall return later, as well as farther along the coast. But I have not gone further north than this point. Fatigue and a snowstorm prevented me, when at Ali Agha in January, from visiting the site ascribed to Gryneion by Mr. Pullan (*l.c.*). It lies a few miles to the north. Elaea also was on the coast, a little distance south of the Caicus; Strabo says it was twelve stadia from the river. I turn now to the Hermus valley.

The exact site of Larissa cannot well be considered apart from that of Neonteichos. The pseudo-Herodotus (*Vit. Hom.*

¹ It is almost certain that both Cyme and Myrina were cities before the Greeks came. They are Amazon cities (Str. p. 623), that is, places of

the Oriental religion of Artemis-Cybele; Myrina is the same word as Smyrna, the old name of Ephesus.

9) makes Homer emigrate from Smyrna to Cyme. He comes to Neonteichos and lives there some time; and the city is described as at the foot of Mount Sardene, and close to the river Hermus—

Οὐ πόλιν αἰπεινὴν Κύμης ἐριώπιδα κούρην
 Ναίετε, Σαρδῆνης πόδα νείατον ὑψικόμοιο,
 Ἀμβρόσιον πίνοντες ὕδωρ θείου ποταμοῖο
 Ἑρμοῦ δινήεντος, δν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεὺς.

Thence he goes by Larissa, through which lay the easiest (but not apparently the shortest) way to Cyme. This testimony is as valuable for the situation of the towns as it is worthless for our knowledge of Homer. Strabo (p. 621) puts Larissa 70 stadia, almost nine Roman miles, from Cyme, and 30, almost four Roman miles, from Neonteichos. It is true that he seems to make the Hermus flow between Cyme and Larissa (ἀπὸ Λαρίσης διαβάντι τὸν Ἑρμον εἰς Κύμην ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίου); but this is irreconcilable with the distance he gives, and I think the sentence is only confusedly expressed and not wrong. He has just been speaking of Magnesia, and the words διαβάντι τὸν Ἑρμον refer to the relation between that city and Cyme, though he has expressed himself so badly that they refer syntactically to the relation between Larissa and Cyme.¹ He also states that Larissa was in the Hermus valley (ποταμόχωστον τὴν χώραν), which is confirmed by Aristides (*Aegypt.* ii. p. 351). Xenophon twice mentions Larissa (*Cyr.* vii. 1, *Hell.* iii. 1, 7), but little can be learned about its situation from his words. Pliny (v. 32) places it on the sea between Phocaea and Cyme, which is clearly wrong. Scylax does not mention it.

It results from these authorities that Larissa was in the Hermus valley towards Cyme (περὶ Κύμην, Steph. Byz. and Xen.), and on the road from Smyrna to Cyme. Nearly four miles from it was Neonteichos, which lay on the side of a mountain near the Hermus. On sites exactly fulfilling all these conditions distinct remains of two Hellenic cities exist. Just where the valley above described as extending from Cyme to the Hermus

¹ I find that a German scholar gets the same meaning by transposing the words: I have lost the reference to the

place where this emendation has been published.

opens on the lower Hermus valley, the road passes below the south side of a rocky hill that rises about 200 feet above the plain. Under the hill is the resting place referred to in Part I. The hill is not wholly isolated, a low neck connects it with the mountains to the north; its appearance is exactly described by its Turkish name Bourounjik, 'the Little Point.' On the top of the hill we can trace at intervals a wall $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, made of cut stones, with holes for metal clamps. The ground is strewn with Hellenic pottery; much of it is clearly of an early period, and I did not observe any that was late. The top of the hill was too large for the needs of the inhabitants, and the wall was carried round only the highest part of it. None of the stones in position rise above the surface of the hill, but many are scattered over the ground, one of them showing the peculiar cut corner, which never fails at the angle of a good Hellenic wall. I measured four successive stones, and found them respectively 3 feet 3 inches, 1 foot 10 inches, 2 feet 9 inches, 2 feet 6 inches, in length. This is almost certainly the site of Larissa. Standing on the city hill, one sees between three and four miles, or thereabouts, to the north-east, a curious circular rock on the slope of the hills that form the northern border of the valley, a short distance from the corner where the hills turn to the north beside the Hermus.¹ Going across the valley to this position, which is right above the Turkish village of Yannik Keui, 'Burnt Village,' (not Yeni Keui, 'New Village,' as Kiepert has it), I found as I mounted the gradually sloping hill a series of beautifully built polygonal walls. The stones are carefully selected and hewn to fit one another, so that they produce a perfectly smooth, close, and even surface. These walls seem made to support a series of terraces. In mounting to the massive rock which formed the acropolis, we pass from the polygonal style to regular masonry of squared stones, in the style of the later Hellenic period. The acropolis was occupied in the middle ages, and considerable remains of very bad stone and mortar work mar the beauty of the Greek walls.

Strabo (p. 621) has preserved a fragment of history, which,

¹ The corner would correspond exactly to the description quoted above from the *Life of Homer*. But the hill described in the text is evi-

dently the important point, both from its natural strength and from the remains on it, and it is not far from the corner.

when taken in connection with the position of these cities, throws some light on the character of the Aeolic settlement. His account must, however, be corrected in one point by the authority of the *Vita Homeri*. He makes the foundation of Cyme later than the conquest of Larissa, whereas it is quite certain that Cyme was the metropolis of the Aeolic cities, and the centre from which the conquest spread. After the Cymaeans had occupied the sea-coast and had begun to turn their thoughts towards the interior, the path of conquest was clearly marked out for them by nature. To the south lay the mountainous Phocaeen peninsula, to the north the sterile mountains that separate the Hermus from the Caicus and the sea; between them lay the narrow but easy way that led to the fertile Hermus valley. But just at the entrance to the Hermus plain, the old Pelasgic city of Larissa blocked the way. The Cymaeans attacked it indirectly. Passing along the mountains, they built on the northern edge of the valley the stronghold of Neonteichos, whence they could command the whole valley. The struggle ended, here as elsewhere, in the victory of the new race. Larissa became a Greek town, but does not appear to have been a very flourishing settlement. It is mentioned by Herodotus as one of the eleven Aeolic cities and we may therefore conclude that it, with the others, joined the Ionic league against Cyrus (Herod. i. 151). Xenophon (*Cyr.* vii. 1) says that Cyrus settled in it some Egyptian mercenaries, and that it was known as the Egyptian Larissa. It does not appear in the lists of contributions to the Delian confederacy: but in the Athenian decree of the year 425 B.C., when the rate was raised to two and even three times the previous amount, Larissa is mentioned. Many places occur in that decree which are not mentioned in the regular lists. Some of these probably were formerly included in the rating of more important neighbours; but this can hardly have been the case with Larissa, the strongest city of the district (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1, 7). Either it was an independent ally like Chios paying no tribute; or else it was included from mere bravado, all states on the Aegean being rated whether or not there were any chance of their paying. It must however be remembered that the interpretation of ΑΕΡ on the record is doubtful. *Λήρισα* is a form natural in the Ionic of Herodotus, or in an Ionic city like the Larissa near Ephesus;

but an Aeolic city would be more likely to call itself *Λάρισσα*. The neighbouring city is *Τήμνος* in Herodotus, *Tāmnos* on coins.

After the end of the Peloponnesian war, Thimbron led a Spartan army into this district. Other towns surrendered to him, but Larissa, a stronger city, resisted bravely. Thimbron surrounded it, assaulted it both by direct attacks and by a mine, but was finally repulsed and obliged to retire. The description of the siege (*Xen. Hell.* iii. 1) affords incidental confirmation of the site assigned to the city. Mining would be an impossible mode of attack on most other cities of the district, but could be well applied from the north against Larissa. On that side a considerable part of the hill is left out of the city wall. When Alexander set the Greek cities free, Larissa began to coin money. Only copper coins are known¹: the type is on the obverse a female head with a wreath, on the reverse a horseman. The latter emblem is appropriate to a city of the plain. But we do not find here a continuous and growing coinage such as is found at Temnos; and it is clear that the city declined. Strabo and Pliny both say that it was deserted in their time (*ἐρήμην δ' ἔσται νῦν*, Str. p. 621). If they refer to the city on the hill, this may probably be true. But it is certain from Aristides that there was at least a village still called by this name, and that it lay on the road, and probably therefore in the plain. On the road to Cyme may still be seen evident proofs in the walls and cemetery near, that the place was inhabited in late Roman time. The reason of its decline must be sought at Neonteichos.

Of the history of Neonteichos hardly anything is known. It is clear from the remains that it continued to be a fortress through the Greek and Roman periods down to a very late date. Some copper coins of the periods of the Diadochi exist, which were struck at this town. They bear a head of Pallas on the obverse, and an owl on the reverse with the monogram NE. The fortifications of the city also belong to this period. The reason for the decline of Larissa, and the prosperity of Neonteichos, must lie in their political relations. Now, whereas the coins of Larissa are native in type, and of so fine a style that

¹ The references to the coins have profited by the criticisms of Professor Percy Gardner, whose invariable readi-

ness to give assistance has done a great deal to make my work less defective than it would otherwise be.

they cannot be later than the middle of the third century, those of Neonteichos are of the type struck under the mild Pergamenian rule in Aegae, Myrina, Erythrae, and perhaps in many other places that have escaped my notice. They bear the head of the Pergamenian Pallas Nikephoros, with the round close-fitting Attic helmet. It can be proved that these coins at Erythrae are later than those where Pallas wears the Corinthian helmet, and the only period open to place them in is B.C. 190-33, when the kings of Pergamus ruled there. It is well known that the coinage of Cistophori was originated over their whole dominions by these kings to promote the unity of their empire; the great cities coined the Cistophori with the city mark on them. But it has not yet been observed that there was also an attempt to promote uniformity in the copper currency: and I think that one who compares the set of coins with this head of Pallas, as struck in Pergamus, Aegae, Myrina, Neonteichos, Erythrae, must acknowledge that they all belong to one period and one influence, viz., the Pergamenian rule from 190 to 133. On the other hand, the head of Pallas with Corinthian helmet in the Ionian and Aeolic cities belongs to the time of Syrian influence, as can be proved with perfect certainty from the coincidence of names on Erythraean coins and inscriptions. Neonteichos therefore flourished under the kings of Pergamus, while Larissa decayed: and it becomes a matter of certainty that the latter chose, like Phocaea, the Syrian side in preference to the Roman and Pergamenian alliance, and was studiously discouraged by Pergamus when victorious. Its walls are so completely levelled with the ground, and yet were so massive, as to suggest the thought that the city stood a new siege with worse fortune than in the time of Thimbron, that it was finally, like Phocaea, captured by the Romans, and that, having no common friend like Massilia to intercede with the conquerors, it suffered the fate from which Phocaea barely escaped, and had its fortifications completely destroyed.

It is possible to attain comparative certainty about the site of Larissa and Neonteichos. The case is different with Temnos, and still more with Aegae. Strabo describes these towns together, saying that they lie on the mountains which overlook the country of the Cymaeans and of the Phocaeans and of the Smyrnaeans, and along which flows the Hermus. He is

evidently describing the mountains between the Hermus, the Caicus, and the sea. He adds that the towns are not far distant from Magnesia. Pausanias also (v. 13) declares expressly that Temnos lay across the Hermus looking from Magnesia. We may also gather from Strabo that Aegae was north of Temnos, for he enumerates the cities in order; Aegae and Temnos are on the mountains that border the Hermus, and not far from Magnesia. From Magnesia, crossing the Hermus, the road passes by Larissa to Cyme, Myrina, Gryneion, and Elaea. Scylax (c. 98) mentions Aegae as a Greek city in the interior above Cyme, but does not allude to Temnos. Xenophon mentions them together (*Hell.* iv. 8, 5), implying that they maintained themselves in independence of the Persians. Now as they are not mentioned among the contributors to the Delian Fund, they seem not to have belonged to the confederacy, but to have been mountain cities which maintained themselves between Athenians and Persians. Pliny also (v. 32) mentions Aegae as in the interior. Plutarch (*Vit. Themist.* 26) says that Themistocles, when he reached Cyme in his flight, found that the inhabitants of the sea-coast were anxious to claim the reward offered by the Persian king for his capture, and therefore he fled to Aegae, *Αἰολικὸν πολισμάτιον*. This account implies that it was an inland town.¹

While these authorities seem to place Aegae on the eastern side of the mountains, other authors refer it to the western side. Stephanus of Byzantium speaks of the city as *ἡ ἐν Μυρίνῃ ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι*. Herodotus in his enumeration of the Aeolic cities gives first Cyme, Larissa, Neonteichos, and Temnos: then a group of unknown places, Killa, Notion, Aigiroessa: then Pitane, north of the Caicus: finally *Αἰγαῖαι* (which must be the town called by other authors Aegae), Myrina, and Gryneion. The enumeration is certainly given after some order, though our ignorance about three of the cities makes it difficult to understand the plan²; it seems, however, that Aegae is regarded in connexion with Myrina, and apart from Temnos. Probably

¹ I have not the opportunity of consulting Galen, *De Bon. Mal. Succ. Cib.* quoted by Raoul Rochette, *Hist. Col. Græc.* iii. 41.

² Killa can hardly be the town of

the Troad which Herodotus expressly excludes from the sphere of the Aeolic cities. It and the other three are towns of the mainland that disappeared early.

the solution of the difficulty lies in the fact that Aegae was in the heart of the mountains, and might be grouped in connection with either side according to the fancy of the writer. Temnos was not far from the Hermus, which is frequently represented on its coins. Aegae on the other hand was beside a river, Titnaïos,¹ mentioned several times on its coins, whereas the Hermus does not occur on them. It may therefore be inferred with much probability that its territory did not extend to the Hermus, as every city which has the slightest connexion with that river claims it on its coins, Smyrna, Phocaea,² Cyme, Temnos, Magnesia, Sardis, &c. On the Peutinger Table, Temnos is mentioned on the road between Smyrna and Cyme. This cannot be reconciled with the authorities above quoted, unless we suppose that the Table does not necessarily suppose the town to be actually on the road but only near it. The Table places Anagome on the road between Smyrna and Ephesus, and Lebas (*Voy. arch.* iii. No. 6) is put to great straits in trying to find a place for it, and does not, I think, finally succeed in showing that it lay on the road. Pliny (v. 32) places Temnos in connexion with the mouth of the Hermus. In Smith's *Dictionary of Ancient Geography* the distance from Cyme to Temnos is given as 30 miles, but no authority is quoted, and it would not be easy to find a site agreeing with the other authorities and satisfying this condition of distance.³

The situations which would best suit the statements quoted are these: Temnos would lie on the hill-side above the right bank of the Hermus, a little way above the point where the river enters on the lower valley in which lies Larissa. Here it would be only a few miles from the road between Smyrna and Cyme. The passages referred to in Strabo and Aristides show that the ancients thought the plain had once been sea, so that

¹ The readings given in Mionnet are ΤΙΤΗΑΙΟΣ, ΠΙΤΝΑΙΟΣ, ΤΙΤΝΑΙΟΣ. It is obvious that the first two are false readings of the third.

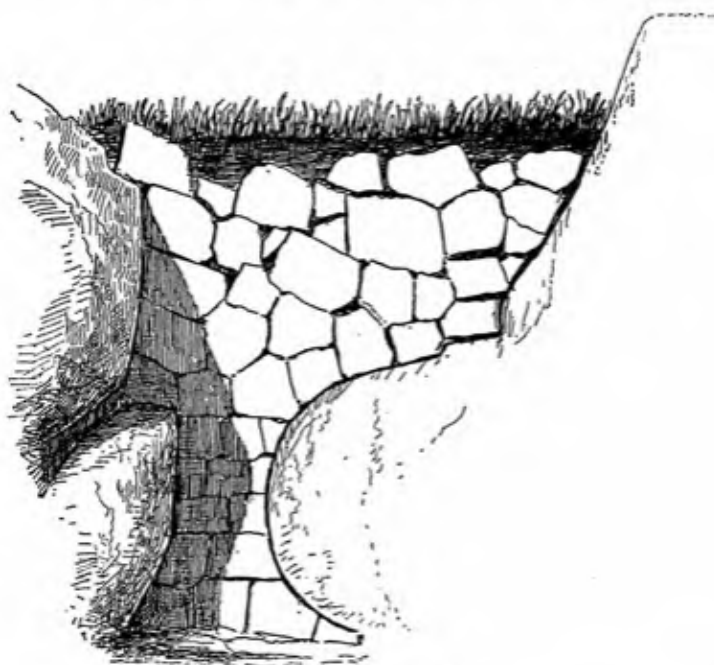
² A river god is also common on imperial coins of Phocaea. The name is not given, so far as I know, but it can hardly be any other than the Hermus.

³ I find that the writer in the

Dictionary has merely followed Forbiger blindly. Forbiger also gives no authority. He probably follows the Peutinger Table, which places XXXIII. between the names of Cyme and Temnos. Now this must certainly be the complete distance between Cyme and Smyrna, and Temnos is not to be counted as a station.

Pliny might well have thought that Temnos originally stood near the sea. Aegae then we should suppose to lie north-west among the mountains and further away from the Hermus.

At the railway station of Emír Aalém, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles beyond Menemen and seventeen miles from Magnesia, one may see on the hill-side across the river a circular mass of rock very similar to that on which Neonteichos is situated. It looks quite close, but unless at a very hurried pace, one requires two hours and a half



WALL OF TEMNOS.

to reach it. It lies above the Turkish villages Hassán Aghá and Deré Keui, 'Village of the Pass.' We climbed from the east side a grassy hill (which had once been terraced) till we reached the rock, which is of conglomerate, and rises on this side 50 feet perpendicular, though on other sides it is more accessible. Just where we reached the rock is a natural cavity or niche with six or seven little rudely-cut votive niches, square and oblong, on the cliff beside. On the summit of the rock,

which is of considerable extent, was an ancient acropolis, surrounded with walls on the more approachable sides. The walls have been much destroyed, but the style seemed to be like that at Myrina, or that of which a drawing is given in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. i. p. 65. The acropolis rock supports a grass-grown platform, and in several places where the rock did not afford a continuous basis, walls of fine polygonal work were built as supports.

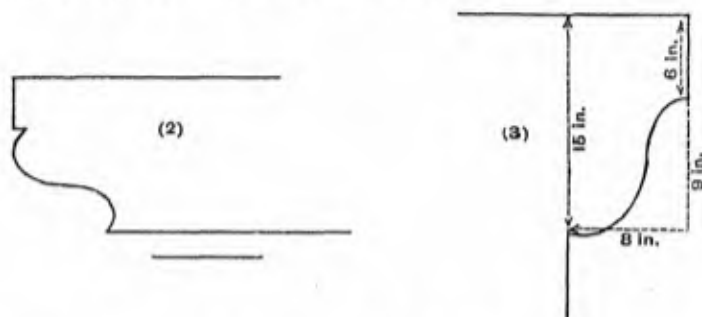
I could distinguish on the highest platform of the hill an outer or city wall and a citadel; the same distinction may be observed on many Aeolic sites, and, as here, the citadel is often little more than natural rock. Everything about this part of the city seemed, like the style of its fortifications, to show that it had been in use only at an early period. It is an inconvenient place, and was certainly not used in the late Hellenic or the Roman period. But the hills behind, and to the east of the acropolis hill, are strewn with remains of buildings. We wandered for two hours among them, and our guide said that they extended without interruption and in the same fashion for three or four miles along the hills till one came opposite to Giaour Keui, 'Infidel Village,' the next station on the line. We did not see any marble, only the stone of which the mountains here are composed, a whitish trachyte.

Among the many ruins, we were struck most of all by the remains of a temple just behind the acropolis hill. We saw one drum of a column, about two feet in diameter, with unfinished flutings, twenty in number, and made careful copies of the mouldings that could be seen. A crowbar might have revealed much more, by enabling us to move the large blocks

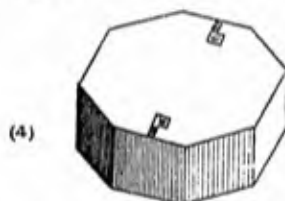


of stone, enormous heaps of which were scattered about. In one place below these heaps we could trace the line of the wall to which they belonged.

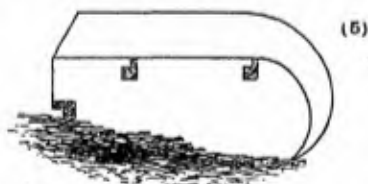
A small semicircular basis *in situ* formed the pedestal of a half-column with twelve flutings. It seemed to form the end of one of the inside walls of the temple. The pedestal moulding is given in Fig. 1. Two mouldings from the entablature are given in Figs. 2 and 3. Near the same place were several



octagonal bases, one apparently *in situ*; each had two little holes sunk in the top (See Fig. 4.) Further away were a



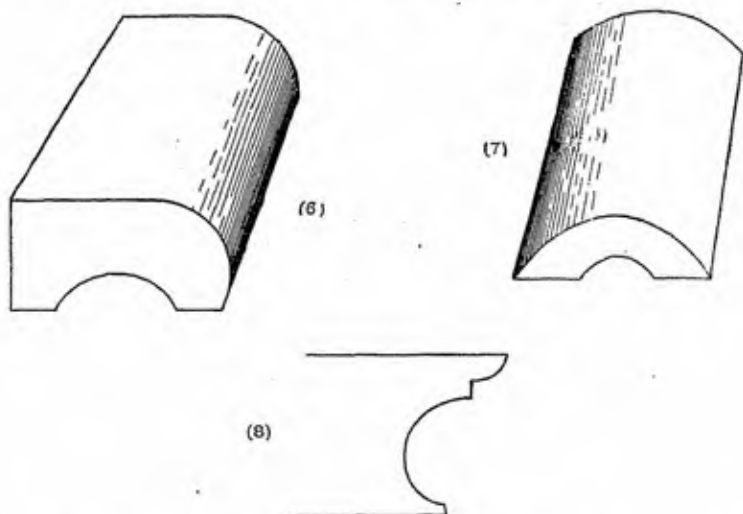
number of large cut stones, varying in size, but all in one or other of the forms in Figs. 5, 6, 7. Their use I could not



conjecture. Some of them seemed pierced as if to form part of a watercourse; others of similar shape were solid. Near them was a fragment with a moulding, Fig. 8.¹

¹ Some of these remains seem Byzantine in style; the city certainly continued into that period.

Considering the great extent to which the city extends, it must be identified with some of the cities mentioned in history; and if so, it can be no other than Temnos. The



slopes of the hills around seem well calculated to make it famous for wine, and justify its making the bunch of grapes the chief symbol on its coins. A few years ago there was some prospect that some of the stones would be used for the railway works; but a more suitable quarry was found. Had the site been thus opened up a little, it is probable that much more would now be known about it, and that inscriptions would have been found. Were a school of archaeology established at Smyrna, it might do much at very small expense in clearing up the history of such sites. More famous cities often disappoint their excavators; sometimes they are so deeply covered that excavation is a hopelessly expensive task; at other times their situation has made them a quarry for the buildings of centuries. Thus Clazomenae has disappeared; and Erythrae has been in some degree carried away to build the quay of Smyrna. In the latter case this has been a great gain to archaeology, as many inscriptions, some of the highest interest, have been thereby recovered, and by the care of the Smyrna Museum preserved. But there are many sites where 50*l.* or 100*l.*, used with the

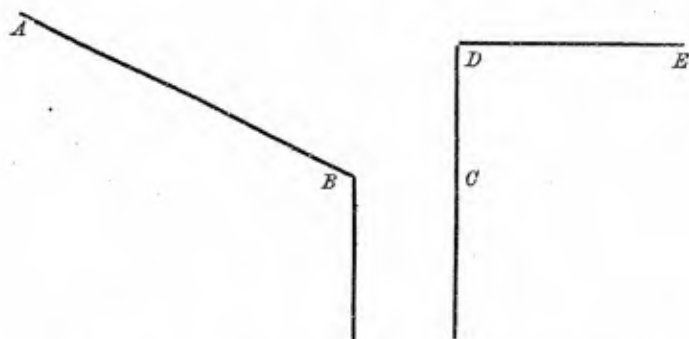
care and tact which only an institution permanently situated in the country can apply, would yield very valuable results. That which is needed is the permanent attention of a small staff, who are able to use the opportunities that from time to time present themselves. The excavations conducted by the French School of Athens, all at a very slight expense, are striking examples of what can be done by a judicious use of opportunities. I have more than once had occasion to admire the style in which their excavations at Myrina are conducted.

Temnos, or, as its inhabitants called it, Tamnos, plays a very small part in history, though its importance is proved both by the size of its ruins and by its considerable coinage. The passage quoted above from Xenophon shows that it maintained its independence from the Persian rule at the opening of the fourth century B.C.; but its name is hardly mentioned afterwards. Müller assigns to it a number of coins of Lysimachus and Alexander. If this be so, it must have been a city of considerable importance early in the third and early in the second century, to which two periods the coins belong. Silver autonomous coins of the city occur belonging to this period; but not in such abundance as to account for the number of regal coins attributed to it. As time goes on the copper coinage increases in consequence. We gather from it the strong influence exercised by the worship of the Mater Sipyrene, whose seat, Mount Sipylus, was full in view across the river. We see also that Asclepius had been brought here, probably from Pergamos, as he was to Smyrna. The type of Heracles brings to mind the town of Heraclea, which, as will be proved below, was just across the Hermus. The gods whose worship we should most expect, and who were probably the chief gods that the Aeolian settlers brought with them, appear in various types, especially Zeus as Akraios and with eagle and thunderbolt.

We learn something about the state of Temnos under the Romans from the speech of Cicero pro Flacco. One of the chief witnesses against Flaccus was a certain Heracleides of Temnos, who had purchased a farm in the territory of Cyme, that is in the lower Hermus valley, quite near Temnos. The magistrates of the city mentioned are the five praetors, *στρατηγοί*, the three quaestors, *ταμίαι*, and the four mensarii, *τραπεζῖται*. Strategi

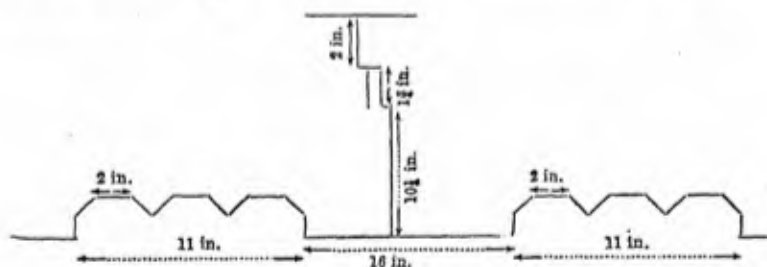
under the Roman rule were not military magistrates, their duties were purely civil, and frequently resembled those of police officers. The difference between trapezitae and tamiae is not known; they were both officers of the finance department. It is worth noticing finally that Temnos is one of those towns whose coins show the portrait of a proconsul ruling the province. Mommsen (*Zeitschr. f. Numism.* ii. p. 69: cf. 295) thinks that these coins all date 6-4 B.C., when Augustus wished to make the share of the Senate in governing the empire a reality. Those of Temnos bear the name and face of Asinius Gallus (see also *Rev. Numism.* 1867, p. 102).

Aegae, as has been said, is probably to be looked for more among the mountains to the north-west. In January I visited, along with M. Baltazzi of Ali Agha and M. Reinach of the School of Athens, a site of which I had often heard, but of which nothing was known. One English friend, whose love of sport and adventure has given him a very wide knowledge of the country, had visited it, but his account was more calculated to excite than to satisfy curiosity. It was the headquarters of a noted band of brigands, who found in it more comfortable quarters than in a common Turkish house. Last year, however, the chief of this band made his peace with the Government, and became a policeman; he then went into town, though the



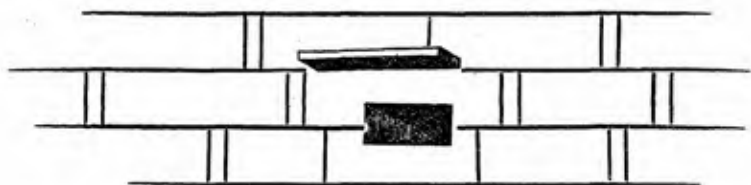
change in his abode was more marked than the change in his occupation. As the place has still a bad reputation, we took with us a few men to display guns. The town lies on a hill near the head of the Kodja Chai, about five hours from its mouth,

where we have placed Myrina. It is surrounded by a wall which runs along the brow of a hill about 500 or 600 feet above the river, and incloses space for a town of fair size. As we ascended the hill we passed a number of sarcophagi of the Roman period, which had been exposed in the occasional efforts of the natives to dig up money. We entered by a gateway, 6 feet 9 inches wide. The plan is given in the accompanying sketch. The walls on each side are of different character. *AB* is like the wall of Myrina above described. *DE* is made of small slabs, not more than two inches thick; the difference is doubtless due to a layer of schist being handy at this point, for the wall *DE* returns some distance on to the style of *AB*. The corner *D* is carefully built with squared stones, showing the usual Hellenic cutting. Soon after entering, we came to a set of vaulted caves very rudely cut in the rocky ground, and of great size. We then found what seemed like a narrow paved street, along which we passed till we reached the ruins of a small Doric temple with not one stone still standing on another. It was built of the same reddish trachyte that is used for most other buildings on the hill. Numbers of slabs of the frieze were scattered about: from one I obtained the following measurements on a vertical line in the middle of the metope and on a horizontal line across from one triglyph to another. The metopes were perfectly plain, except that the top projected a little in two degrees of elevation.



Immediately beyond this we found a very singular building. A very finely-built wall, in some places still 50 feet high, and at least 250 feet in length, stood near the steep slope of the hill. It was 2 feet 11 inches thick. About three or four feet above the ground were a series of doors and windows. Each door led

into a chamber 14 feet square, and each chamber had one of the windows. Some of the chamber walls were still about 12 feet high, but nothing remained to show how high they were originally, or what was above them. At a height of about 30 feet was a series of smaller windows, one to every two doors beneath, and above each was a projecting slab. At a height of about 40 feet were larger windows, only one of which remained. The wall was built in courses, 1 foot 3 inches high, except about the windows, where one course was smaller. Each course consisted of a long and a short stone alternately, the short one being probably laid crosswise. The doors and windows were constructed in the Greek style, converging slightly towards the top. The lower windows measured 3 feet 7 inches high, 3 feet 3 inches broad at top, 3 feet 6 inches broad at bottom. The doors were about 7 feet high, and 3 feet broad in the middle. The doors were raised a little above the ground, and must have been approached by steps. The whole building had thus a look of military regularity. It is not of an early period, and probably belongs to the Pergamenian rule.



At different places we also saw a long gallery, arched and of the Roman period, and a mediaeval tower.

These ruins are about six hours north-east of Ali Aghá, and are said to be about the same distance north-west of the site where we have placed Temnos. They are now called Namrût Kalessí, 'the Castle of Nimrod.' Kiepert puts this name on his map much too far north, and places here the ancient Parthenion. The account given by Xenophon of his marches (*Anab.* vii. 8) seems to show that Parthenion was nearer the Caicus valley than the site of Namrût Kalessí. The latter is in Aeolis rather than in Mysia, and it seems connected rather with the Aeolic cities than with Pergamos, judging from the coins found there. We found on the site an autonomous copper coin of Phocaea,

and the day after we returned to Ali Aghá a native brought seven coins, found, as he said, at Namrût KaleSSI. Of these, two belonged to Temnos, four to Aegae, and one was Byzantine.

The only argument, so far as I know, against placing Aegae here is the statement of Scylax (c. 98) that Aegae lay ὑπὲρ Κύμης. But it is not unnatural that Scylax should speak rather vaguely about the situation of a town in the interior relative to the coast towns. Though it cannot be considered certain till other sites on the mountains have been examined, yet it is highly probable that a place of such strength, dating from the earliest Greek period, with walls of great circumference considering the period when they were built, and continuing as a city through the Roman period, is Aegae, when it satisfies fairly well all the accounts of ancient writers. Aegae also was an important city in early time, and lasted through the Roman period: it has a silver coinage, and Mr. Head (*Metrolog. Notes*, in *Numism. Chron.* 1875, p. 293) assigns to it doubtfully Electrum coins of the period 600–560 B.C.

Kiepert, following several old travellers, places Aegae at Guzél Hissár, 'the Beautiful Fortress.' This town lies on the southern edge of the valley of the Kodja Chai, a very short way from the site of Myrina. In Kiepert's map it is placed much too far south. It is really an hour north-east from Ali Aghá instead of south-east as he places it. Guzél Hissár does not suit the statements of the ancients. It is not on the mountains, it is not towards Magnesia, there is no reason to mention it along with Temnos.¹ Finally, there is nothing to prove that an ancient city existed there; its few inscriptions have come from Myrina.

Namrût KaleSSI is on the same river at whose mouth we have seen that Myrina lies. That river we know to have been called the Pythicos, while the name of the river god on the coins of Aegae is Titnaios. I think that the hill on which Namrût KaleSSI is situated is surrounded on two sides by two rivulets which meet beneath, and one of them may have been called the Titnaios and have been the sacred stream of the city. The name Titnaios is perhaps a derivative from Titane or Titanos. Titanos is the name of a hill in Thessaly on or beside which stood the town of Asterion, Ἀστέριον Τιτάνοιό τε λευκὰ κάρηνα,

¹ M. Baltazzi, who has made a collection of the Aeolic coins, has told me that he could not get any coins of Aegae from Guzél Hissár.

(*Il. β. 735*). Titane is a city in Achaia, on the summit of a hill, and was one of the chief seats of the worship of Asclepios. Coins of Aegae with the type of Asclepios occur as early as Augustus, but we have so little information about the city, that it is hardly possible to determine whether this coincidence is of any value. It is however worthy of note that Pliny (v. 32) speaks of an Aeolic town Titane at the mouth of a river of the same name.

Of the history of Aegae even less is known than of Temnos. Its name occurs in various forms: Herodotus (i. 149) has *Αἰγαῖαι*, *Αἰγαί* is common, Xenophon has *Αἰγεῖς*.¹ The people seem to have called themselves *Αἰγεῖς*, as *ΑΙΓΑΕΩΝ* is common on coins; but *ΑΙΓΕΑΙΩΝ* sometimes occurs, also *ΑΙΓΕΩΝ* (Mionnet, iii. p. 4, No. 15). It was probably a place of great strength, as it maintained its independence from the king of Persia; and the site where it has now been placed fulfils that condition admirably. It suffered in the great earthquake, A.D. 17, when twelve cities of Asia were destroyed (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 47).

Strabo says that Cyme founded thirty cities on the mainland, most of which were deserted in his time. Though they were then desolate, it is probable that many of them may yet be traced by their ruins. Crossing the river from Temnos, I found about an hour from the river a hill on the top of which is a large boulder. On it are letters, which led the natives to dig for treasure beneath.² With some difficulty I discovered that the stone was used as a boundary between two districts. On the side turned towards Mount Sipylus were the words

ΟΡΙΑΜΕ

ΛΑΜΓΑΓΙΤΩΝ

¹ Corrected by some editors to *Αἰγαί*.

² Mr. Mühlhausen, engineer of the Smyrna and Cassaba Railway, told me of this inscribed stone, and gave me a guide to the place as well as to the site

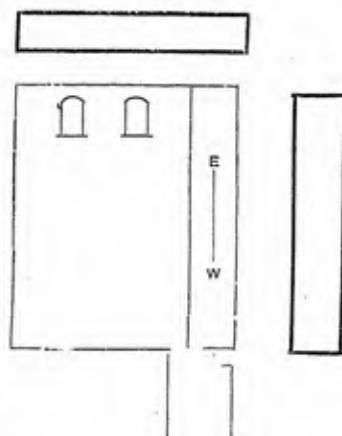
of Temnos. Mr. Barkshire of Smyrna has informed me by letter since the above was printed that he discovered the site of Temnos in 1877.

Ὅρια Μελανπαγιδῶν, and on the side towards Temnos the word

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΝ
ΤΩΝ

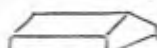
with a few scratches after, which may perhaps be the remains of ὄρια. It was easy to see the Black Rock where the Melampagitae dwelt. About two hours distant, on the slope of Sipylus, was a remarkable mass of rock whose look showed its name: the natives told me that there were many 'old things' about it. At the time I had not leisure to go so far. On the side of the Heracleotae towards the river, the valley is full of remains. Among them are Byzantine ruins, a church, and pieces of marble which formed architectural decorations showing crosses among the carving. Not far from the station of Emīr Aalem is a grass-grown tumulus, and a little beyond it is a hill, with remains of a small fortified town. The walls could be traced all round the hill, sometimes appearing above the ground, sometimes showing only a slight elevation in the grassy hill. The style of building was not apparent, but was certainly not the finer kind of Greek work. At each end of the oval-shaped town was a gateway with a winding road distinctly traceable. Half a mile away on another small grassy hill was a mass of rock, in the south side of which was cut a staircase that wound up the side. It was broken in the middle, and part of it was visible in a fallen lump of rock that lay near. It was clear that the staircase once furnished the sole means of access, though now one can easily ascend the broken side. On the top, which was a small level plateau, were traces of cutting apparently made to give grip to the stones of a parapet wall, and a large cistern. An oblong hole in the plateau, 8 feet 6 inches by 6 feet 3 inches, opened into a much larger square cistern, which was not lined with cement like most of those I have seen. The hole was in former times closed by some kind of covering which rested on carefully cut ledges at the sides of the opening. It is now filled at least a

foot deep with the skulls of sheep, for what reason I could not learn. We pushed a long stick down as far as it could be forced among the bones and water, and found that the cistern must have been at least six feet deep. Comparing this rock with the rock-acropolis lately discovered above the 'Niobe' near Magnesia, I had no doubt that it was a stronghold of a pre-Greek race. In the rocks and hills all about the valley are cut numerous graves. In one case a large boulder of conglomerate had been cut into a chamber, in the floor of which was a grave 4 feet 8 inches long by 2 feet 7 inches broad. The grave and the chamber faced due east. In the back wall of the chamber, which was very irregularly cut, were three votive niches. Such niches are very common in this country, but I have not in any other case found them in a sepulchre. At Temnos some have been described: at Phocaea they are very common. I found on a hill-side there, within the walls of the ancient city, an oblong altar cut out of the rock and facing the points of the compass, near which was a large rock full of such niches; the whole place reminded me of the altar of Zeus Hypsistos at Athens. To return to the Hermus valley: another boulder was cut into a large chest 6 feet 3 inches by 5 feet 4 inches, once covered with a lid and entered by a little doorway. Inside was a narrow deep



grave the length of the chamber, and two shallow indentations in the floor. These are the places for the heads of two corpses

laid on this shelf as on a bed. This grave also lay east and west, and close to it outside were two graves parallel to its sides. The whole is remarkably like another rock tomb beside Old Smyrna, (see *Rev. Archéol.* 1876, May, p. 322). The numerous other graves are simply oblong holes cut in the flat rock



and covered with slabs of stone, sometimes in pairs, sometimes broad enough to hold two people, sometimes long and narrow. All that I examined were symmetrically placed—

10 lay N.W. to S.E.

1 „ N. to S.

8 „ E. to W.

This attention to the direction of the tombs is not a Greek characteristic. At Phocaea, Myrina, Tanagra, &c., no rule can be observed. These tombs, then, must belong either to a non-Greek race, or to Greeks strongly affected by an alien religion. I could not hear of anything that had been found in the tombs, some of which had been only recently opened. It is probable that one grassy hill is full of unopened graves, as the few which were visible had been covered by two feet of soil.

We may conclude from the appearance of this valley that Greek inhabitants succeeded an older race, and were strongly influenced by the religion of their predecessors. That religion can be no other than the worship of the Mother Goddess enthroned on Sipylus, the tutelary deity of Smyrna and of Magnesia. Temnos, on the other side of the river, also adopted the same worship, and its coins often bear the two Nemeses, like those of Smyrna. The attributes and character of the Nemeses stamp them as Hellenic developments of figures connected with the same worship.¹ Down even to Phocaea the cultus spread, and the Heracleotai under the shadow of Sipylus must have felt it much more.

¹ Compare Curtius, *Beitr. z. Gesch. Kleinasiens*, p. 18, and Stark, *Niobe*, p. 414.

This Heraclea may be the one mentioned by Stephanus as πόλις πρὸς τῇ Κυμαία τῆς Αἰολίδος. It is however more probable that Stephanus refers to the village on the coast between Atarneus and Adramyttium, the property of the Mitylenaeans, which is apparently the *Heracleotes tractus* of Pliny (v. 32). In that case we may think of the town of Lydia, πόλις Λυδίας (Steph. Byz. and Hesych.), after which the magnet was called Heracleotis. The situation of this town is quite unknown, but it has been conjectured (see Smith, *Dictionary of Ancient Geography*, s. v.) to lie under Mount Sipylus near Magnesia. This conjectural position would suit the place whose name is revealed by the boundary-stone: and as this place is east of the Hermus, it might be called a town of Lydia. Otherwise the character and situation of both towns point them out as Aeolic settlements. The inscription is probably not older than 300 B.C.; for though that of the Melampagitae might be referred to an older period, its more archaic forms are probably due to the bad education of a mountain village, while the Heracleotae of the plain wrote much better. The two names must be referred to the same period, when some difficulty about the boundaries was settled by arbitration or by mutual agreement. But the names of the two places have probably descended from the time when the same Aeolians who founded Temnos occupied the whole valley. It is even probable that they were not content with the valley, but went right on across the hills. From Heraclea a road goes over a pass of Sipylus and descends by the modern village of Yamanlár on the plain of Cordelio, which borders on the gulf opposite Smyrna. I feel quite certain that the city on the summit of the hill Adá near Yamanlár, which was described in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. i. p. 68 ff., is an Aeolic city. It may have been, as I formerly said, a city before the Greek period, but half of the wall round the top of the hill, and the whole chain of wall and towers that defends the most accessible sides of the hill at a lower level, are plainly Greek. These parts of the wall are built like that of Larissa, and show the same peculiar cutting at the angles which everywhere marks the Aeolic cities. The walls are all built of carefully cut stones in horizontal courses, but the ends of the stones are sometimes not cut perpendicularly.

The chief interest of this city is its relation to the Aeolic Smyrna. A glance at the map shows how it lies on the road from Temnos to the Smyrna valley. Two roads were open to the Greeks as they pressed on from the Hermus valley to that of Smyrna. They might go along the shore of the gulf, or they might go across the mountains from Temnos. Now the old city of Smyrna is unassailable except from the north: on all other sides it presents a long and steep ascent; but to the north it is joined to the hills behind by a neck of land. It is clear that if the Greeks met with any resistance they must have occupied the hills to the north, and thence attacked the town. The analogy of the attack on Larissa may help to prove that the attack was made here also from a position on the hills above the town of Smyrna. It seems more probable, therefore, that the attack came by way of Temnos, and that the old town on the hill 'Adá' is really a half-way station to facilitate the conquest of Smyrna.

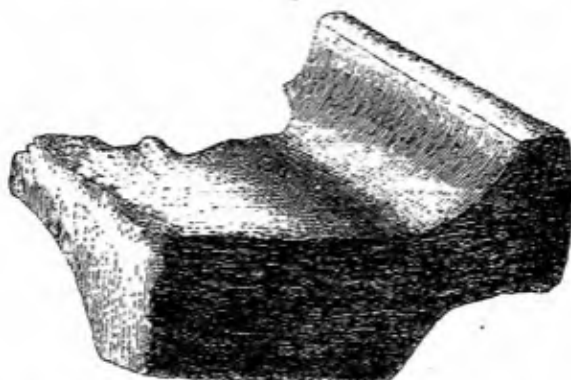
It is unnecessary to argue that the chronology in the *Life of Homer* has no value: there the foundation of Smyrna is put ten years after that of Neonteichos, and eighteen years after that of Cyme. The little evidence we have combines with *à priori* considerations to show that everywhere the Aeolic conquest was a slow but thorough one, and that they won their way step by step and city by city after a struggle more or less hard with the natives of the coast. They had to conquer before they could colonize. Curtius has emphasized the contrast between the Ionian and Aeolian settlements. The former amalgamated with the natives: the latter dispossessed them. The former founded only cities on the coast: Magnesia, in the Maeander valley above the Ionic Miletus, is expressly called by Strabo πόλις Αἰολίς, and its inhabitants were Thessalians dedicated to Apollo, and sent forth by him. The latter penetrated far inland and founded a land empire: even Cyme, founded from the great maritime Euboean city, deserted the sea and turned its whole efforts inland. A detailed account of the colonization of Southern Aeolis marks clearly the character of this Aeolic settlement.

But this character must not be pressed too far. It is clear that the Aeolic conquest did not interrupt the continuity of the

history of the district. The cities in general retain their old names. Cyme and Myrina are Amazon cities; Larissa kept its old Pelasgic name. Neonteichos is a new foundation and has a Hellenic name: Aegae is doubtful. Temnos on the other hand is an old name. Temnos is a mountain in Mysia, and the town of Temenothyrae is 'the pass over Mount Temnos.' With it we may compare Grimenothyrae, the Mysian equivalent of Thermopylae: Germa is a common Phrygian and Mysian town name, 'the Hot Springs,' Sanskrit *gharma*. Têm-no, or Tamno, from root *tam*, to cut, probably means 'steep'; and the Carian town Tymnos, with the personal name Tymnes, are probably of the same family. It is a very common thing for the name of a mountain to be applied to the town beside it. In Cilicia the mountain Anazarbos gave its name to the town beneath, also called Kyinda, and under the empire Caesareia, πρὸς Ἀναζάρβω. Assos, for *ak-yo-s*, 'the Peak,' is one of the commonest names, alone or in compounds, for towns in Asia Minor, and occurs in Greece in the name Parnassos, 'the Peak of Parnes': Parnes is found also alone as the name of a mountain. Still the probability is very great that the Aeolic cities were much more purely Greek than the Ionic: and one might attribute to this fact their backwardness as compared with their Ionian rivals. The Hellenic civilisation was the fine union of many elements, and the most mixed cities are those to which the development is chiefly due. The Aeolic cities were never great centres of commerce; they all followed the Ionic cities in the league against Cyrus, but only the cities actually on the coast and fully under the Athenian influence are mentioned in the list of contributors to the Delian Confederacy; and we know that Temnos and Aegae maintained among their mountains a rude sort of Spartan independence of any foreign rule. Perhaps on this very account excavations on some of these sites might be all the more instructive about the earlier stages of Greek life.

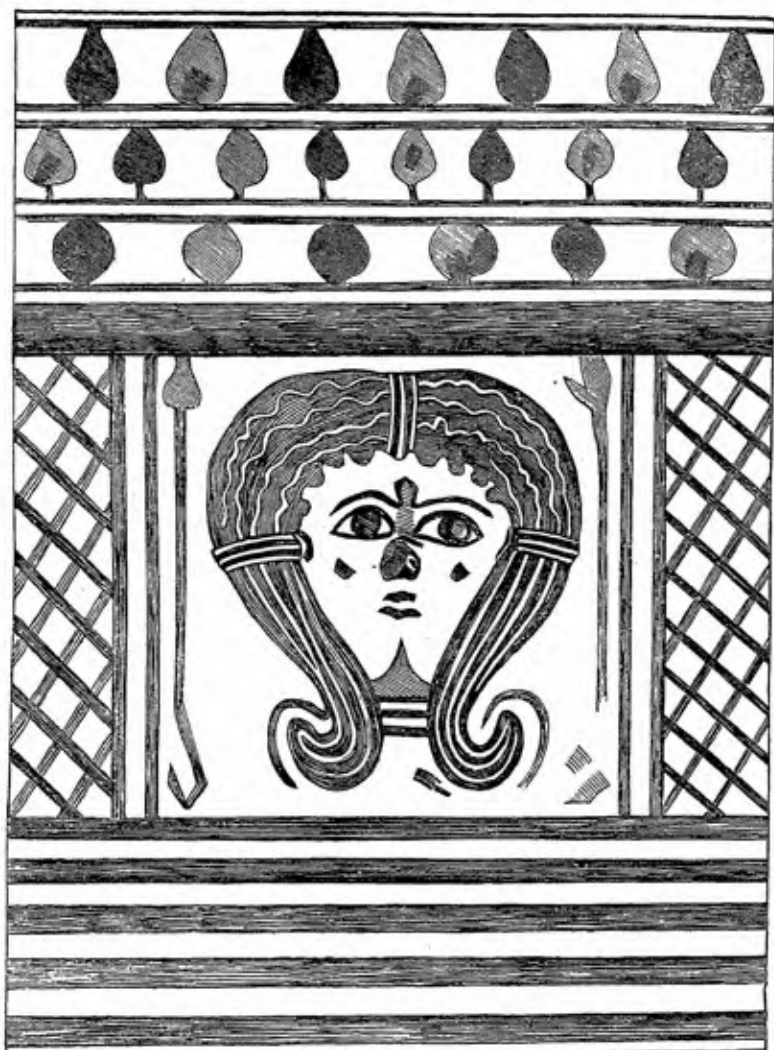
No other cities that I have seen are so like in character as those of Adá and Old Smyrna. The position on small and lofty peaks, the mixture of Greek with Cyclopean masonry in the city walls, are singularly like in the two cases, and the pottery found on the sites is almost the same. On both we find a peculiar kind of tile, different in some respects from the tiles that abound on every site in the country from the oldest downwards. These

tiles are decorated on one side with a bluish-black glaze of a metallic lustre: all kinds of glaze known in Greece are non-metallic. The other side is plain, and has a projecting flange along the edge. The shape of a corner fragment is here added. These tiles were evidently made in moulds, and are



of exactly the same size and shape in the two cities. Mr. Clarke, of the scientific expedition sent out by the American Archaeological Society, has pointed out to me that these tiles formed the *sima* of a temple whose ornamental parts were of terra cotta instead of marble. The ground walls of the temple can be traced on the acropolis of Old Smyrna, and it might be worth while to spend a few pounds in digging round them in search of any fragments of a temple so ancient and so interesting.

The early pottery found on the Aeolic sites is usually unglazed, pale yellow in the ground colour with bands generally of a ruddy brown, but occasionally of a very dark hue. The fragments that lie on the surface are too small to show the shape of the vase; but in excavations on the site described in this *Journal* (vol. i. p. 68 *ff.*), I found many small broken kylikes of a shape which, so far as I can learn, is unexampled elsewhere. Besides these I found fragments similar in colour but much finer, exactly the same as some early vases I have from Temmessos. On the site of Temnos I picked up a fragment of a vase with black figures on a red ground.



J. C. Bellet

DECORATION OF VASE FROM PHOCAEA.

Opposite will be found a drawing of a remarkable vase from Phocaea. It is one of a pair which I bought in Smyrna. As I was at the time hunting for relics of Erythrae, and had expressed much disappointment at finding none, the dealer had nothing to gain by saying that the vases came from Phocaea, and may therefore be believed. Moreover, Mr. Pappadopoulos Kerameus, whose name is familiar to all students of this district of Asia Minor, told me that he had tried to buy them in Phocaea, but had been outbidden. The vases are interesting as perhaps the first published of such an early period from the district. But apart from this, they surprise by their markedly Oriental character. Dr. Furtwängler has told me that the style of the geometrical ornaments is different from anything in his experience. The two heads, of which one is on each side of our



SHAPE OF VASE, height 6 in.

vase, recurred to my mind when I saw the two Sphinxes at Eujuk; and, quite independently, Dr. Furtwängler remarked that the arrangement of the hair was paralleled only on these Sphinxes. The slight variation in the two heads, and especially in the neck ornaments, characterises also the Sphinxes, although this is hardly perceptible in M. Perrot's photographs. Two colours besides the ground hue of the clay are used; and in every zone of the ornamentation a studied alternation of the colours is obvious. The top zone consists of a series of objects, probably fir-cones, alternately crimson and yellow.

The other vase, which shows the Oriental influence even more strongly, will be published hereafter.

On these cities of Aeolis we have found three kinds of walls. (1) Polygonal walls occur frequently, but they are in every case used for some purpose where ruder work was sufficient. The most frequent use to which they are put is to support a terrace. It can hardly be doubted that the Greeks who settled in Asia Minor used this style of building in such cases. But where pure Cyclopean work is used in the wall of a city, as in the acropolis of Old Smyrna, one may look on it as most probable that the wall is the work of an older race. The polygonal walls are rarely rude in style and made of undressed stones; the rudest in character is the immense wall which runs across the entrance to the glen in the pass of Kavaklı Deré,¹ but it is as singular in position and purpose as it is in style. Generally the stones are worked enough to make them fit closely, and they present a surface perfectly straight and level. One can often trace courses, distinct enough, but not horizontal, for a little, till the order is disturbed by an unsuitable stone. This forms a transition to class (2), in which the courses are generally distinct and horizontal, but occasionally disappear for a little. Walls of this class generally alter towards angles into class (3), in which the stones are carefully squared and fitted most accurately. The front of the stone is not dressed smooth. It is left rough, and only the sides are cut smooth. At the angles the corner is carefully and deeply cut, and the rough faces of the stone projecting a little in front of the corners produce the well-known form. But the front of the stone is perfectly flat, and does not, as in the work of later days, project in the middle with bevelled edges all round. This kind of building is also common where the wall is exposed and most open to attack.

I hope at some future time to complete this sketch of Southern Aeolis by a study of the Aeolic Smyrna. Before doing so, however, I hope to make some excavations on the site of Old Smyrna, as I have already done at another site in the valley. The money for this purpose is supplied by a Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

In conclusion, I may express the hope that Professor Jebb's wish, expressed in the last number of this Journal, may soon be realised by the permanent establishment of an English

¹ See *Journ. Hell. Stud.* vol. i. pp. 68 ff.

School of Archaeology. Much, however, might be said in favour of placing it in Smyrna rather than in Athens, and while imitating the older French and German institutions, making a new departure in the style of work. Greece has plenty of highly educated archaeologists already at work there; Asia Minor has only occasional visitors. An English school, established even on a small scale, might in fifteen years do a very great work in Asia Minor. Even at present, when a little more attention is beginning to be paid to its antiquities, not a month passes without some new discovery. But if Asia Minor is to be the special field of a new school, it must be permanently placed there, able to take advantage of every opportunity. The want of a good library is a serious drawback, but much might be done to supply the defect. A library, so selected as to supplement that of the Evangelical Museum,¹ would grow quickly if once established; and a student could always go to Athens for a few weeks when necessary, and have the use of excellent libraries there. Moreover, it might be well to encourage any student to spend a month or two of each year at some of the great museums. With the rapid communication now existing, no long time would be lost in travelling; and in Ionia the months of July and August, though perfectly healthy, are not suited for doing good work. One student would find it too expensive to travel much in the interior, but two together might at less expense go with perfect safety all over the country, with two good Turkish servants. If one or both of the students united a liking for sport to an interest in archaeology, he would find it an immense advantage in exploring. Not merely would he more easily see unfrequented parts, he would also find the shooting a passport to the society of many useful allies.

W. M. RAMSAY.

NOTE.—Since the preceding pages were written, M. Baltazzi has published in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*, an inscription on a rock near Ali Agha: it marks the boundary between Pergamus and Cyme, and must belong to the third century B.C. In the

¹ Without the aid of this library and the courtesy with which it is placed at the disposal of all students, my time

in Asia Minor would have been spent uselessly.

same paper attention is directed to the Pergamenian types on some coins of Aeolis. It was in studying the coinage of Erythrae that I first observed the class of coins which I have described above in connection with Neonteichos. In another number of the *Bulletin* will be found M. Reinach's account of his visit to Namrût Kalessi.

ACTORS WITH BIRD-MASKS ON VASES.

PLATE XIV. B represents an unpublished vase of the British Museum, which originally formed part of the Burgon Collection: it appears to have been found in Italy in 1835. It is an oinochoë with black figures on a red panel, and may be assigned to a period between about 500 and 450 B.C.

A representation upon an amphora published by Gerhard in his *Trinkschalen*, Pl. XXX. Figs. 1—3, so evidently relates to a similar subject, that it is here reproduced for comparison on the same plate (Fig. A). This picture shows us an *auletes* playing upon the double flutes in the presence of two grotesque-looking figures, apparently human, who are closely draped in long cloaks, *himatia*, and to whom his back is turned. That the heads of these two figures are intended to represent the heads of some sort of bird is evident from the beak-like conformation of the features, and by the purple crests which rise vertically from the crown. Gerhard, in publishing this vase, has for want of any better explanation described this scene as representing a parody or a mummary symbolical of a cock-fight. Viewed, however, in the light of the evidence afforded by the British Museum vase, this theory seems to me improbable: yet I am bound to say that I am unable to advance any explanation which seems entirely satisfactory.

In Fig. B, 1, we see the same *auletes* playing his flutes beside two bearded figures who move with grotesque gestures to the right, in an attitude as if they were dancing to the accompaniment of the music; they wear the same purple crest as the two in Fig. A, but instead of being encased in *himatia*, their limbs are left free, except for the dappled skin of some animal which is knotted around the body in such a way that the tail hangs down at the back.

The entire body is stippled with small incised marks, which is the usual method of indicating a rough or hairy surface, and probably in this case is meant to represent feathers; at the knees of each a further small bunch of feathers is attached; the arms are extended in the action of flying, and upon each arm is fastened a wing, which would seem to be a broad flat surface covered with long feathers, and kept in its place by means of straps. What these wings were made of we cannot tell: probably wicker would be the most suitable material, in which case the reference of Peisthetairos in line 797 of the *Birds* of Aristophanes, to the career of a certain Diitrephes would be specially appropriate. This individual seems to have made a fortune by covering flasks with wicker, and is therefore said by Peisthetairos to have made himself *πυτιναῖα πτερά*, 'wicker wings.'

The introduction of the flute-player is quite regular as indicating the musical element, the indispensable accompaniment of dramatic representations of this kind. Various passages in Aristophanes show us that one or more flute-players were always at hand to assist with the singing. Thus in the *Ekklesiazousai*, line 891, a flute-player is requested by the first old woman to accompany her song on his pipes; in the *Birds* it would seem to have been one of the Chorus who so officiated, for Peisthetairos says, line 859—

Παῦσαι σὺ φυσῶν. Ἡράκλεις, τουτὶ τί ἦν;
τουτὶ μὰ Δί' ἐγὼ πολλὰ δὴ καὶ δεῖν' ἰδὼν
οὐπω κόρακ' εἶδον ἐμπεφορβιωμένον.

The branches of ivy or vine scattered about in the ground-work of the scene, with no apparent connection either with each other or with the figures, are not an uncommon adjunct on black-figured vases. Whether they are merely the conventional indication of the locality in which the action takes place, a wood or garden, or whether they are inserted from the earlier archaic habit of filling in every available space in a design, seems uncertain: perhaps, as they most frequently occur in scenes of a Dionysiac connection, they may bear reference here to the obviously Dionysiac character of the performance, as emblems of the god-head.

There is one point to be noticed regarding the *technique* of this vase. The inner markings of all the figures are for the most

part represented in the usual method, by incised lines, but the respective surfaces of the skin of the two actors are differently treated: that of the figure on the right is covered with incised circles, that of his companion is roughly stippled. Moreover, the outline of the arms of the former figure is faintly indicated with a black pigment, that of his companion, by deep incised lines. It may be that the artist intended to represent the front view of the left-hand figure and the back view of the other, with the outline of the arms just discernible through the back of his wings.

Although the vases before us are hardly so late as the date of Aristophanes, they may, I think, be shown to throw valuable light in certain points of detail on the drama of the best known of Athenian comedians.

Various as were the animals which were introduced upon the Greek stage as Chorus, such as wasps, frogs, and all kinds of birds, I do not know a single instance where representations of these figures have come down to us; it does not appear likely that so lifelike a frog would have been presented to an Athenian audience as may be seen in a modern pantomime; the particular animal might be unmistakably indicated, and the limbs of the actor still left free for locomotion and dancing. To this end the figure would probably be human from the neck downwards, while the mask would be as nearly as possible assimilated to the head of the creature represented;¹ perhaps there is an allusion to this inconsistency of attire in the question of Peis-thetairos, who asks the Epops where his feathers are (line 103), and he answers that they have all moulted off, as is customary with birds in the winter season; and this would give fresh point to the words of the Epops, line 96—

Μῶν με σκώπτετον
ὄρωντε τὴν πτέρωσιν; ἦ γὰρ, ὦ ξένοι,
ἄνθρωπος.

By πτέρωσις we must here understand wings, as we already

¹ In a passage of the *Knights*, line 523, Magnes, an Athenian writer of comic plays, is spoken of as βαπτόμενος βατραχέοις 'bathing (his face) in frog-colour,' an evident allusion to his play

of the *Frogs*: upon which the scholiast says: ἐχλοῖοντο δὲ τῷ βατραχέῳ τὰ πρόσωπα, πρὶν ἐπινοηθῆναι τὰ προσωπεῖα.

(line 103) know he was without feathers: his triple crest had been remarked at his first entrance (line 94).

Moreover, it will be remembered that when the Epops calls out his mate the nightingale to show herself to the strangers, Euelpides, who wants to kiss her but is afraid of being spitted on the point of her beak, overcomes the difficulty by removing the mask from her head (*ὥσπερ ὠὸν ἀπολέφαντα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ λέμμα*) 'like the shell of an egg,' and kissing her underneath. The scholiast on this passage (line 667) says that the actor entered *τὰ ἄλλα κεκαλλωπισμένον, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ὀρνίθιος ἔχον ὡς ἀηδόνας*.

The recurrence on two vases, apparently much of the same period, of scenes so nearly alike is sufficiently significant to justify the assumption that the artist or artists had some special representation in mind: the evidently dramatic character of the pictures had led me to hope that they might be connected with a school of the Greek drama, or even with a particular scene from the earlier comedy. Unfortunately, however, the extreme scantiness of the fragments which have come down to us of the writings of the comedians before Aristophanes or of his contemporaries makes it impossible to draw any conclusions from this source. Moreover, I have been unable to discover any vase paintings of this period which deal with this or a similar class of subject. Comic scenes are of frequent occurrence on vases: but they are almost universally, if I am not mistaken, to be referred to a much later period than the black-figured vases here published, and are generally late red-figured or polychrome vases. In these comic scenes the actors wear the conventional human mask and false stomach, and savour very strongly of their Dionysiac calling, seeming, too, from their constrained attitudes, to represent specified scenes probably well known at the time of their production.

On one vase, published by Tischbein in his *Hamilton Collection*, II. 57, is a scene which, if the engraving is to be trusted, is worth comparing with our vases. Unfortunately, there is no record of its colour, but it would seem to be a red-figured vase, drawn in a late, careless style. Two figures move to the left, each carrying a spear and a peculiarly shaped circular shield: the foremost figure is that of a youth, who wears on his head a head-dress with a crest like that which we see in the vases here

published: his companion, who is of dwarfish proportions, and who has apparently one of these bird-masks on, wears a helmet with five vertical feathers or crests. One cannot but be reminded here of the scene in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, where the Chorus of birds attacks the intruding human strangers. These two figures would apparently correspond well with the characters of Peis-thetairos and Euelpides: but in the passage referred to it would seem that they had laid aside their weapons of defence, the spit and pot-lid, before they took the medicine of the Epops which caused their feathers to grow.

So far as I know, there is only one vase known with a comic scene which can be actually found to correspond at all accurately with the description of the poet; it is published in *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1849, Taf. III. 1, and shows with remarkable fidelity the scene in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, where Dionysos, in the character of Herakles, smites upon the door of Pluto's palace, while Xanthias with the bundles on his back sits upon the ass looking on. Of this identification at least there can be no doubt, and it is much to be hoped that Aristophanes may in time be further illustrated as more comic vases are discovered. The subject of birds seems to have been treated by other comic poets besides Aristophanes. Anaxilas wrote a play called *Ὀρνιθοκόμοι*; Magnes, an Athenian, and one of the earliest comic poets, wrote another *Birds*: in the *Knights*, Aristophanes thus refers to him (line 522)—

πάσας δ' ὑμῖν φωνὰς εἰς καὶ ψάλλων καὶ πτερυγίζων
καὶ λυδίζων καὶ ψηνίζων κ.τ.λ.

The word *πτερυγίζων*, 'flapping wings,' would seem to point to the introduction of some such figures as those in Fig. B: moreover the date of Magnes, who seems to have flourished about B.C. 460, would seem to correspond well with the style and treatment of the painting on our vases. Still, when we consider the enormous number of comic plays which were written, from Epicharmos downwards, to whom alone more than thirty-five are assigned, and the small proportion of fragments which have survived, the chances are very much against the connection of comic vase-scenes with their original sources in the poets.

It is quite possible of course that these scenes may be only conventional representations of the Mimic performances

which we know were common in Athens: Athenaios alone gives thirteen different branches of this art, all of which, he says, consisted of music and dancing: these were perhaps the surviving traces of the original source of the Greek drama, and were suited mostly to a popular low class audience: like the conjurors, *Θαυματοποιοί*, the craft probably frequented public thoroughfares, markets and festivals, and earned a livelihood much in the same way as our Punch and Judy shows¹: curiously enough, the Lacedaemonian Mimi would seem to have had the same two favourite characters which still delight Christmas audiences, the fruit-stealer and the quack doctor.

Whatever these two vases represent, they are interesting as perhaps unique specimens of their kind, and as possible illustrations of the dress of the characters of Aristophanes.

CECIL SMITH.

¹ At the meeting of the Society on Oct. 21st, Prof. Constantinides informed me that in modern Greek puppet shows a character almost exactly correspond-

ing in appearance to the smaller figure in the Tischbein vase occurs, and is called *χοργός*(?).

BOAT-RACES AT ATHENS.

IN my paper on 'Boat-races among the Greeks' (above, pp. 90—8) I brought together a considerable number of testimonies to prove that boat-racing was a Hellenic sport. As I was to a great extent breaking new ground, it can scarcely arouse surprise if I failed to make my collection of authorities complete. Since the paper appeared friends have been good enough to point out to me two or three fresh passages of writers bearing on the subject of boat-races. Of these the most important is quoted by Mr. Ridgeway from Pausanias.¹ That writer speaking of the town of Hermione, says, 'Near by is the temple of Dionysus Melanaëgis. In his honour is yearly held a musical festival, with swimming races, and boat-races (καὶ πλοίων τιθέασιν ἄθλα).' Hermione is situate on a very sheltered bay at the extremity of Argolis, and so admirably adapted as a site for swimming races and for races of small boats.

A far more interesting reference than that I have mentioned I owe to the courtesy of Dr. Hirschfeld. He points out to me that in the valuable series of Ephebic inscriptions recently discovered,² mention is more than once made of boat-races engaged in by the Attic Ephebi, as a regular part of their training. I could scarcely have missed these mentions had not Dumont misled me by calling the races *joutes nautiques*. To us they are specially interesting because the system of training of Ephebi at Athens, which we can trace upwards to the third century B.C., corresponds more closely to a modern English University education than anything else in antiquity. And we have in this case the best proof that rowing was not considered

¹ II. 35.*Attique*; or the new *Corpus Inscr.*² See Dumont, *Essai sur l'Éphébie**Att.*

among the Athenians as a mere slavish toil, seeing that the best born and best bred of their youths took part in it.

In an inscription of the first century B.C.¹ we find recorded among the acts of the Attic Ephebi the following—

περιέπλευσα[ν δ]ὲ καὶ εἰς Μουνυχίαν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ναυσίν,
ὁμοίως δὲ ἔπλευσαν καὶ εἰς Σα[λαμῖν]α καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ἄμιλλαν
τῶν πλοίων, ἔδραμον δὲ καὶ μακρὸν δ[ρ]όμον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν πρὸς
τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι καὶ ἐνίκησαν.

In an inscription of a somewhat earlier time² there is a very similar passage—

π[ε]ριέπλευσαν δ[ὲ] καὶ τοῖς Μου[νι]χίοις εἰς τὸν λιμένα τὸν
ἐμ Μου[νι]χίᾳ ἄμ[ι]λλώ[μεν]οι, ὁμ[ο]ίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς Διῖσωτηρίοι[ς].
ἀπ[ὲ]πλευσαν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ Αἰ[άν]τεια κάκει[ν] [π]οιησάμ[ενοι]
ἄμ[ι]λλαν τῶν πλοίων καὶ πομπεύ[σαντε]ς καὶ θύσαν[τες τ]ῷ
Αἴαντι ἐπηνέβησαν ὑπ[ὸ] τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Σαλαμινίω[ν] καὶ
ἐστεφ[αν]ώθησαν, &c.

Further on in the same inscription³ we read—

ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ ἀμίλλας τῶν πλοίων ἐν τοῖς γ[ε]νομέ[ν]αις
ἐ[μ] Πειραιεῖ[ν] θυ[σίαις καὶ πο]μπαῖς.

From these passages we gather that boat-races on the part of the Ephebi were part of three distinct festivals.

(1) The Diisoteria,⁴ celebrated about the 14th of the month Skirophorion in honour of Zeus Soter and Athene Soteira.

(2) The Aianteia,⁵ celebrated at Salamis in honour of Ajax who was said to have borne aid to the Athenians at the battle of Salamis. On the occasion of this festival it would seem that the Ephebi went over to Salamis, and there had boat-races among themselves and foot-races against the youths of Salamis.

(3) The Munychia,⁶ in which Artemis was thanked for her assistance in the same great battle. At this time the Ephebi entered sacred vessels in the Peiraeus, and raced round the Peiraeen peninsula to the temple of Artemis in Munychia where they sacrificed.

M. Dumont suggests that it was to the races belonging to the last-mentioned festival that the epitaph of the comedian Plato,

¹ C.I.A. ii. 1, No. 470, 16.

² C.I.A. ii. 1, No. 471, 29.

³ l. 71.

⁴ Dumont, i. p. 291.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

which I have quoted above,¹ applies : and he is probably right rather than Michaelis, who supposes the reference to be to the Panathenaic festival.

In these inscriptions the usual phrase is *ἄμιλλα τῶν πλοίων*, but in one case we have the verb *ἀμιλλώμενοι*, which does not seem to have the same ambiguity of meaning as the former phrase. The crews which went in competition from Peiraeus to Munychia must have been racing. The distance between the two Athenian ports, so far as one can judge from the map was about four miles. What, however, were the *πλοῖα* mentioned in all these passages? That they were not triremes seems certain, with good writers these are *πλοῖα μακρά*. Nor can they have been the clumsy, broad-bottomed merchantmen. Boats they probably were of a single bank of oars, but by no means light or small if they could venture across the open sea between Athens and Salamis. I think that a passage of Thucydides² will help us to determine what class of vessel is meant. That writer says of the Peloponnesian fleet preparing for action, *καὶ τὰ λεπτὰ πλοῖα ἂ ξυνέπλει ἐντὸς ποιοῦνται*, they made a hollow circle of ships and put in the midst the light boats that were with them. So also an unpublished Calymnian inscription in the British Museum speaks of a fleet as consisting *μακρῶν τε ναῶν καὶ λεπτῶν πλοίων*. From these passages and others³ it would seem that the larger vessels of a Greek fleet, triremes and penteconters, were sometimes accompanied by smaller boats, probably with a single bank of oars, used for lighter purposes, such perhaps as picking up crews when ships sank or boarding disabled vessels. This class of vessels probably it is which was rowed by Athenian Ephebi and which figured at the Actian games and those of Hermione. Of course they would be clumsy compared with modern boats, but might yet afford good exercise for muscles and lungs.

PERCY GARDNER.

¹ p. 93.

² ii. 83.

³ Hdt. vii. 37 &c.

PERSPECTIVE AS APPLIED IN EARLY GREEK ART.

AMONG the earliest drawings on Greek vases it is not rare to find a lion, for example, or a bird with apparently two bodies and only one head between them, as in Figs. 1-2. (Pl. XV.) After a long interval a similar rendering of animal form occurs no less frequently in Roman work, as in the sphinx, Fig. 4. So long as this curious proceeding in the art of design was thought to be the outcome of fancy, no explanation of it was sought for. Curtius,¹ however, had found from many observations, that Assyrian, Phœnician, and early Greek designs, were largely influenced by a principle of dualism, displaying itself mostly in devices which consist of a group of two animals confronted, the one responding strictly to the other in form and action, much as the impression of a seal responds to the seal itself. In early times when seals were employed to an extent hardly to be realized now, it may seem to have been easy and natural for an engraver or other designer to have observed and utilised the peculiarly decorative effect obtained from the contrast of a seal with its impression. But simple as this may appear, we know from the history of invention and discovery that the most obvious matters of fact continually escape notice until the way has been slowly prepared for them by other means, and for this reason we may

¹ *Wappengebrauch und Wappenstil*, p. 109. In the plate accompanying this article (Pl. XV.) the following subjects are from Curtius:—

Fig. 2 = Curtius Fig. 14.

„ 3 = „ „ 16.

„ 9 = „ „ 11.

Fig. 10 = Curtius Fig. 19.

Of the others, Figs. 1, 5, 6, 7 are from vases in the British Museum. Fig. 4 is from *Mon. d. Inst. Arch.* vi. Pl. 41, Fig. 9; Fig. 8 from *Annali d. Inst.* 1880, Pl. 4; and Fig. 11 from *Gazette Arch.* 1878, Pl. 5.

assume that a general principle of dualism in design had begun to dawn on the minds of artists before it was found to exist in the contrast of a seal with its impression. It is no part of the plan of Curtius to suggest means by which the principle of dualism had been developed, whether in the way just indicated or otherwise. My interest in the question lies more in the origin of that principle, and since the seal engraver may by chance have had something to do with it I have begun with him.

It will be seen from Fig. 5, which represents the head of Athena on a red figure amphora in the British Museum, that about B.C. 400 the want of a knowledge of perspective drawing had led to the singular substitute of rendering both sides of the crest of her helmet in profile, and strictly contrasted one with the other. We are plainly shown both sides of the crest. Or to go back more than a century, we have on the neck of the Burgon Panathenaic vase an owl (Fig. 7), standing in profile, yet with the wing of the further side drawn nearly as if seen from the front. No doubt the result is a symmetrical effect. But the question here is whether symmetry was not a secondary matter, and whether in fact the primary impulse of the designer was not to represent as much as he could of both sides of the bird. The existence of such an impulse in the early stages of imitative art will be readily admitted, and to some extent can be traced. Again we have another helmet (Fig. 6) on an archaic vase in the British Museum with the two sides of the crest a little apart from each other, yet evidently drawn with the same purpose as was seen in the crest of Athena. Nor are these solitary instances.

Applying this imitative impulse to the figures of animals with apparently two bodies (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4) we need not hesitate to say that the primary intention of the designer was to exhibit both sides of the animal in one view. We must suppose him to be looking at it full to the front, and drawing both sides without the aid of perspective. A farther step in the same direction would be to draw each side of the animal as if it were standing strictly in profile, and then to place both drawings so confronted that they appear to represent two animals. Figs. 8-9 may serve as examples of this, or we may take the lions above the gateway to Mycenae, which on this view would be but one lion, and would thus satisfy us perfectly as a symbol of the courage that defends

a citadel. Two lions amicably confronted are an absurd spectacle to common intelligence. Again, on Fig. 10, we have what Curtius (p. 105) thinks may indicate two rams' heads hung up after a sacrifice. But the way to represent two or more objects is to place them in a series, more or less consecutively, while on the contrary if you place two identical objects strictly confronted, as here, you attain unity of effect; and my argument is, that this form of design had its origin in a true sense of the organic unity in a creature or object symmetrical in its two sides.

It is a marked characteristic in the drawings of animals on early gems and vases, to place a lion, for example, or a bull, in profile, but with the head turned round full to the front. In this way advantage is taken of a natural attitude to represent as much of the animal as could be represented on a flat surface, without the aid of perspective. And by this means the artist in outline can most nearly approach the artist working in the round. This, however, appears to have been a more advanced stage than that in which both sides of the animal were given, the one confronted with the other, on a principle of symmetry handed down from the earliest stage of geometric drawing. In Fig. 11 we have on the corner of a square base a gryphon seen full in front, while on the two adjoining sides of the base are rendered in relief the two sides of the gryphon. Imagine the two sides of the base compressed, and you have a gryphon in the round; or imagine them flattened out into a horizontal band, and you have the species of design which we have been discussing. Gryphons and sphinxes¹ figured in this manner are common on corners of bases in Graeco-Roman sculpture, and though I cannot at the moment find an exact parallel in the earliest imitative art, yet it is not likely that such a principle was first introduced in later times. At all events it suits my argument to find these comparatively late examples, because I want to show that a completely analogous principle played a part in Greek sculpture which it has not been suspected of playing.

In the first place the method in question emphasizes the centre of a design. It in fact creates a centre towards which both sides must symmetrically tend. How far it may have led in the later development of art to the selection of subjects which would most naturally fall into the required

¹ See also the sphinx on a Greek capital, engraved, *Gazette Arch.* 1877, Pl. 10.

centralisation and balance—such, for instance, as scenes of combat—it could not now well be determined. But the fact remains that subjects of this class pervaded early art. In the second place, if we try to explain by the method in question such a composition as that of the west pediment of the temple at Aegina, we find that the groups on each side represent what would be seen on a section of the battle along the fighting line, rather than, as now understood, two groups consisting of two champions or protagonists, each backed by supporters coming up to stop the gap should the leaders fall. Yet these supporters are apparently as actively engaged as the principals, though at present no one suggests what they are doing. Nor is their gradually diminishing size—though necessary from the form of the pediment—explained artistically, unless on the theory here advanced, that they are to be viewed as each more and more remote from the point of view at which the two foremost combatants are seen.

The habit of regarding the object to be represented from a front view, and the collision which ensues when the artist is limited by the flat surface of the gem on which he has to engrave it or the marble slab on which he has to sculpture it in bas-relief, can be illustrated by a large number of instances in early Greek art, from which we may take, as the most familiar, the metopes of the oldest temple at Selinus, in Sicily, the engraved scarabs with figures of heroes, having the body almost full to the front, while the action is in profile; or even a group in the Phigaleian frieze, where we see Apollo and Artemis driving in profile in a car which is rendered as three-quarters to the front.

In art of the best period, however, it is mainly in large compositions that we find this habit still occasionally operative; and here I would observe that the application of it as seen in the Aegina pediment may in other cases be inverted in such a way that each side of the composition may increase instead of diminish as it recedes from the centre. It seems to me beyond doubt that the composition on the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia was an example of this. Such a treatment of the subject would besides be appropriate for the low level at which it was to be seen. According to Pausanias (v. 11, 8) there was in the centre Aphrodite rising from the sea,

received by Eros and crowned by Peitho—this group would be conspicuous in the centre by the low attitude of the goddess,¹ and by the smallness of stature in her two attendants. At each side of this group are ranged pairs of deities, increasing in the dignity of their character as they approach the extremities of the composition, the last pair on the one side being Zeus and Hera, who respond to Poseidon and Amphitrite at the opposite end. Further, on the one extremity was Helios stepping into his chariot, and therefore forming an imposing group as compared with his appearance in the east pediment of the Parthenon where only his head and arms are visible. On the other extremity was Selene riding on a horse or mule, again doubtless forming a conspicuous group. It may be argued that the gradation of stature here assigned to the deities in each wing of the composition is against the evidence of the east frieze of the Parthenon, where no gradation is recognized. But the frieze of the Parthenon cannot be a law to the composition at Olympia, which was placed at a level as low as, if not lower, than the eye of the spectator, and would thus appeal to the sight in a manner almost directly the reverse of that which obtains in the elevated pediment of a temple.

Whether it be right or not to view the lines of the composition at Olympia as vanishing towards the centre in a perceptible degree, it is at least clear that a very marked centralization of the subject had been effected by the responsion of the several pairs of deities in the one half to the similar pairs in the other. Centralization in design owes its origin to a sense of unity in the subject, which sense of unity at its earliest appearance in imitative art took, as we have seen, the form of representing two sides of an animal extended horizontally and symmetrically. It has been seen also that even when the art of sculpture was advancing into the higher regions of composition, this sense of unity had not altogether got rid of its primitive imperfections. But when we come to the stage of art in which Pheidias was supreme, we must be prepared for endless subtleties intended to conceal the simple principle of the composition without impairing its effect. The

¹ A beautiful representation of small silver disc engraved in the *Gazette* Aphrodite rising from the waves, and *Arch.* 1879, Pl. 19, Fig. 2. being received by Eros, occurs on a

groups which remain from the east pediment of the Parthenon illustrate this with the richest abundance of detail.

I confess that what is true of the pediments of the Parthenon in regard to composition, does not at first sight appear as if it would apply equally to the frieze. Yet starting from entirely different considerations, I had a few years ago arrived at a conclusion about the frieze which works in with the present theory. But as that conclusion, though argued out and illustrated in the *Revue Archéologique* at the time (1879, xxxviii. p. 139, pl. 21,) is probably little known except to a few archaeologists who, like Overbeck, have adopted it, I may here repeat that it assumed the sculptor of the frieze to have regarded the Panathenaic procession, which it was his business to represent, as cut in two longitudinally. One half he placed round one side of the temple, the other round the other side, the double head of the procession meeting on the east front. It was as if he had looked at the procession from the front, and then spread its two sides into opposite horizontal bands, exactly as did the early designers of animals. Of course the two sides do not correspond in small details, but in the masses they do. If then my theory of the frieze is correct—and I am not aware of its having been disputed—we have in it the highest illustration of the principle of realism in conflict with the principle of decoration imposed by the limits of a flat surface until perspective comes in to destroy it. By realism I mean the habit of taking into view the greatest possible extent of the object to be figured, and at the same time recognising the necessity of looking at it full from the front if it is a living being, or assemblage of living beings.

A. S. MURRAY.

ON AN ARCHAIC EARRING.¹

THE ornament here engraved is said to have been found at Athens in 1874, and to have come from a site then in course of excavation at the back of the Parthenon. Whatever the circumstances of its discovery—and they are confessedly somewhat obscure—the object is in itself not only very interesting from an archæological point of view, but (I add this on the authority of Mr. C. T. Newton) it is also unique.

Wrought of pure gold very rich in colour, the earring measures, from the wire which passed through the lobe of the ear to the bottom of the pendant, two inches and a quarter. It consists of two parts; namely, the earring proper, which is shaped after an antique pattern much in favour for fibulæ, and an oblong plate, or pendant, on which is represented, side by side, a pair of female figures beaten out in relief. In dress and in attitude, these figures, though exceedingly archaic, resemble the Canephoræ

¹ This earring is the property of Miss Lucy Renshaw.

of the Erectheum. The arms are down, and straightened closely to the sides. The hands are turned inwards, the fingers touching the sides of the body a little below the hips. The heads are very large; and the hair appears to be arranged across the foreheads in a row of clustering curls. Both figures are exactly alike in pose and costume. Both wear a talaric *Chiton*, over which is a *Diplordion* reaching to the hips. A veil, which is however not very clearly indicated, seems to come from the back of the head, and hangs upon the shoulders. The type and treatment of these figures is so archaic that the earring may safely be ascribed to the first half of the sixth century B.C.

If this object was found, as stated, within the precincts of the Acropolis, it might probably be a relic from the treasury of that older Hecatompedon which was burnt by the Persians at the taking of Athens by Xerxes, B.C. 480. As regards the meaning of the design, there is ample room for conjecture. The Attic Horæ, or Seasons,—Thallo, the Hora of Spring, and Carpo, the Hora of Autumn, both worshipped at Athens—may perhaps be personified in this pair of figures. Or possibly the four youthful maidens called Arrhephori may have been intended; two upon each earring. The Arrhephori, it will be remembered, were young girls between seven and eleven years of age, chosen from among the noblest Athenian families. Two were appointed to supervise the weaving of the famous peplos patterned with figures of Gods and Giants which was made for the statue of Athena Polias, and was the principal object carried in the Panathenaic procession. The other two were more especially concerned with the festival called Arrhephoria (*Ἀρρηφορία*); their function being to carry mysterious and unknown objects in the sacred vessels of the goddess. These girls dwelt on the Acropolis, wore white garments, and ate some particular kind of cakes which were baked especially for them.

The earring bears every appearance of being an ornament made, not merely for votive purposes, but for wear. It may, of course, have been the earring of a statue. In any case, it would probably have been one of a pair; and the companion drop may eventually be turned up by the spade of some future excavator.

STATUETTE OF PALLAS FROM CYPRUS.

AMONG the objects recently acquired by the British Museum is a beautiful terra-cotta from a grave at Salamis in the Island of Cyprus, of which I give a representation on Plate XVI. The figure is that of a goddess who wears a long *chiton* with diplois, and a *himation* over her back and arms. Long tresses fall over her shoulders; on her head is apparently a *stephane*,¹ though it may be intended rather for a *taenia* or band; in her ears are round earrings. Her right hand is passed into the interior of a crested Corinthian helmet, her left hand rests on the edge of a round shield. Her left foot is slightly drawn back, and the leg bent.

The figure is $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, and stands on a square pedestal $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch high. The back is quite unworked, and in the midst of it is the usual round hole, made to facilitate the baking. Slight traces of red colour appear on the hair of the goddess and the crest of the helmet, and we may observe on the lower part of the drapery some of the white ground-mixture with which terra-cotta figures were covered as a basis for colouring.

In the modelling of the hand and some other parts a certain carelessness or clumsiness is observable. But nevertheless no one could hesitate to acknowledge that the work belongs to a fine time of art. It is probably nearly contemporary with the figures of the same class from Tanagra, which closely resemble it in fabric, and which are assigned by competent authorities to the latter part of the fourth century B.C. In fact it pleases even better on a second or third examination than on the first, and is full of charm and gracefulness.² The figure is very slight,

¹ That is, a metal coronet above the brow; see Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, Pl. cccliii. The *taenia* or diadema, on the other hand, was a mere ribbon.

² For this assertion the reader must take my word, as the engraving is not very successful. Good drawings from the antique are scarce.

evidently a youthful and maidenly form, not fully developed, and by no means of a voluptuous type, but full of energy and vigour. The face is somewhat thin for a Hellenic countenance, but well finished, and of gentle and pleasing aspect. The drapery is managed by a masterly hand, and, no less than the form it covers, belongs to a young unwedded girl. We have clearly before us a noble, if a somewhat unusual, representation of the virgin goddess, Pallas Athene.

Before further determining the character of the statuette, I take the opportunity of saying a few words as to this class of productions, which has in consequence of the wonderful finds at Tanagra become familiar to all lovers of art, but has scarcely in this country received sufficient attention from the archaeological point of view.

A close examination of our statuette fully confirms what M. Rayet says¹ as to the mode of manufacture of these figures. It is clear that a mould of the front of the figure was first cut in wood or some other substance. Into this mould was pressed a lump of clay, which was then worked on until it was a mere shell. Then a rough back, like a piece of pie-crust, was fitted on, and the whole figure next withdrawn from the mould. The damp clay was then worked up with a tool. Traces of such work are to be seen in the face and hair of the present statuette. Afterwards the figure was baked, and then dipped in a white solution, on which as a basis were laid the colours with which the whole was painted. These colours not having been burned in, have disappeared from the statuettes which have come down to us, except in cases where they were preserved in damp-proof graves.

The whole question as to the meaning and objects of terracotta statuettes is most obscure.² The great majority of those which have come down to our day have been preserved in tombs; but no one knows why they were placed there. In the tombs at Tanagra the beautiful figures of local fabric are crowded without order or arrangement. Some lie flat, some stand upright, some are inverted. As many as twenty have been found in a

¹ *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875, i. pp. 306 sqq.

² See Kekulé, *Thonfiguren aus Tanagra*, Preface; Rayet, *Gazette des Beaux-*

Arts, 1875, April, June, and July; Heuzey, *Mon. publ. par l'Assoc. pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques*, 1873, 4, 6. *Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts*, xii. 195.

single tomb. And even, as if there were not room enough inside many more figures are found in the earth outside the tombs, buried in disorder and profusion. What possible cause could have induced men to bury these bright and beautiful figures in so indiscriminate a manner? We should no doubt be somewhat nearer to the solution of this problem if we knew what they are intended to represent. Do they usually represent the forms of gods or of human beings? It is now generally agreed that the terra-cotta figures found in the earlier tombs, mostly female figures seated and closely draped, represent goddesses, Demeter and Persephone, Hera or Aphrodite. The presence of such forms as these need not surprise us. The votary who had cherished the image of one of the great goddesses during his life, would still more need it after his death, to guard him in the land of shades. But when we reach tombs of a later period, and find, in the place of staid figures of seated deities, female forms in every graceful attitude, and sometimes even figures which appear to be made with comic intention, we are at a loss what to think. M. Heuzey has maintained, what will to most people seem a paradox, that even in the later terra-cotta figures from Tanagra and elsewhere, the meaning is religious. With subtle analysis, he divides them into groups. In the figures but partially draped he sees representations of Aphrodite, in the infants, the child Hermes, in the veiled statuettes, figures of Demeter, the veiled goddess. He points out that Greek religious festivals, and even the great mysteries of Eleusis, were by no means wanting in a lighter and more mirthful aspect. Even in the quaint figures of old women among the terra-cottas he sees reference to certain incidents in the history of Demeter. Thus he still makes the grave a chapel, and fills it even in later Greek times with favourable and protecting images. The opinion of M. Rayet is quite opposite, and more in keeping with the tendency of modern hermeneutics. While acknowledging a religious meaning in some of the later terra-cottas, he sees in the large majority of them mere representations of figures from every-day life, the women and the children who moved in the streets of Tanagra, celebrated for beautiful women. In very early times, he remarks, the Greeks buried with their beloved dead their weapons of war, and stores of food and drink, and even slew, to send in their company to the next world, their female kin or captive women.

Of these customs we find traces preserved in various degrees in various parts of Greece. But everywhere the traces become more and more conventional with time. In the place of stores of drink we find empty vessels; for light, lamps that have never been kindled. Real bread is replaced by loaves of terra-cotta. What then is more likely, than that in the place of the bodies of slain wives and dependants, the later Greeks should bury, with their dead, terra-cotta images of human beings, to people the solitude of the grave and furnish the dead with pleasing companionship in the world of shades?

To the explanations alike of M. Heuzey and M. Rayet there are serious objections, but as I am not prepared to produce another explanation in the place of those I have mentioned, I must leave the matter to the reflection of archaeologists.

In the case of the figure now before us, the question does not arise whether the representation is of goddess or woman. For all would at once confess that she is a goddess. Greek women had nothing to do with helmet and shield. But it might perhaps be questioned what deity is intended. At first sight every one would suppose the statuette to be of Pallas; whom the warlike equipment and the slender and vigorous proportions would well suit. But a doubt might arise whether the goddess is not rather the armed Aphrodite familiar to students of Greek mythology.

And in fact this is not such a paradox as it may at first seem. Pallas and Aphrodite alike owe their earliest form in art and some of their moral characteristics, to the same armed goddess, the Sidonian Astarte, who joined to the military ardour of Athene the sensuous nature of the goddess of love. Where Phœnician colonies were settled the cultus of the armed Astarte was not unusual. And even when Greeks had ousted Phœnicians from their factories, they sometimes retained a figure of an armed goddess in the temples. This goddess they frequently called by the name of Aphrodite. This is indeed generally known, and I need bring forward but a few instances. Hesychius mentions an armed Aphrodite of Cyprus (ἑρχεῖος Ἀφροδίτη); at Cythera there was a very ancient wooden statue of Aphrodite, armed¹; both Sparta and Corinth worshipped the armed Aphrodite. It is true that only a few representations of

¹ Pausan. iii. 23, 1. Cf. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, pp. 58, 424.

Aphrodite armed have come down to us. But such are not unknown. On a vase of early style in the British Museum,¹ Aphrodite, who drives in a chariot with Poseidon, wears the aegis, and to prevent all mistake her name (Ἀφροδίτης) is written behind her in clear, well-formed characters. On denarii of the younger Faustina Venus Victrix is represented as holding helmet and spear, and Venus Genetrix as a draped figure holding in her right hand Victory and in her left a shield. It can scarcely be doubted that earlier Greek prototypes of these figures must have existed. And this is confirmed by the circumstance that Antipater of Sidon, Alexander the Aetolian, and other writers have left epigrams written on statues of the warlike Aphrodite.²

Knowing that this statuette came from Cyprus, I hesitated at first whether to see in it the martial goddess of love. But such a view is scarcely to be maintained. Salamis in Cyprus was not given up to Aphrodite like Paphos and Amathus; there was in the city a temple of Athene, and her head appears almost as frequently on coins of Salamis as the head of Aphrodite herself. The graves, too, of Salamis are Greek, while those of other parts of the island contain objects of oriental character. And the present figure is clearly the work of a Greek hand. But it would scarcely occur to a Greek of the fourth century to represent Aphrodite under the guise of a young virgin, and as armed. And Pallas, though seldom, does sometimes appear without helmet and aegis. For instance, we can cite vases where in company of Herakles, she is often unarmed and of less severe type.³ Pausanias⁴ saw no objection to applying the name of Athene to a statue of a maiden crowned with flowers which he saw at Megalopolis. Less often Pallas appears only partly armed. In a gem in the British Museum she holds a helmet in her hand; and she appears in the same attitude in vases, usually of post-Alexandrine style, for instance, a vase from Camirus in the British Museum, representing the birth of Erichthonius.⁵ It is

¹ Lenormant et de Witte, *Élite céramogr.* iii. Pl. 15. It is not impossible, however, that the introduction of the name of Aphrodite may be the mere error of a scribe.

² See Welcker, *Götterlehre*, ii. 708.

³ In the British Museum vase No. 584, for instance, where her name is written on the vase.

⁴ viii. 31, 1.

⁵ *Annali dell' Inst. di Corr. Arch.*, li. p. 62, Pl. F.

well known that in the Parthenon frieze she bears only the aegis and no helmet at all.

We see then how the type of our statuette might easily arise towards the end of the fourth century B.C., at a time when all the types of the great deities, especially of Apollo and Dionysus, were being varied and softened. As these male deities became mild and gentle, so Athene laid by the severity of her armour and her rigid stateliness, and appeared in more maidenly and pleasing fashion. But in the case of this goddess the new mode of representation did not so completely prevail over other types as in the case of her male rivals, and helmet and aegis remained constantly her badge until the latest times of sculpture. If our Athene really wears the stephane, the peculiar property of Hera and Aphrodite, the type is still more novel and remarkable; but we cannot venture to assert this positively, for the back hair is not represented, and so stephane and diadema are hard to distinguish.

PERCY GARDNER.

PYTHAGORAS OF RHEGION AND THE EARLY ATHLETE STATUES.

SECOND ARTICLE.

I.

SINCE what I last wrote on the subject of Pythagoras of Rhegion in this Journal,¹ much evidence has accumulated to verify what was then brought forward in a more or less hypothetical form. I was greatly encouraged to carry on this research by the sympathetic criticism of archaeologists both published and privately communicated, but all, with one slight exception, evidently written with the view of facilitating an increase of information, of advancing the common object—the study of classical archaeology. Among the published criticisms, I have received the greatest stimulus to continue my research from the reports² of a lecture delivered by Professor C. T. Newton at University College, London, in January of this year; and, among the unpublished, a letter from Professor Michaelis with a full and detailed criticism; while the fact that in the Berlin Museum of Casts the ‘Apollo’ is now entirely severed from the ‘Omphalos,’ and that, in the new catalogue³ of the Museum of Casts at Munich the words ‘nicht zugehörigen,’ are inserted into the phrase ‘Apollo auf dem Omphalos’ is the most important of confirmations I have received from without: for, it was the possible, and formerly firmly maintained, association of the statue with the

¹ No. I. pp. 168–201.

² The *Times* of January 10th, and fuller in the *Builder* of the same week.

³ *Kurzes Verzeichniss des Museums von Gypsabgüssen, Klass. Bildwerke in München*, No. 218, B.

omphalos as its base that I felt to be the only *positive evidence* against my hypothetical assumption.

Still, it will ever remain a most difficult task to convey to others, with anything like adequate convincing power, the actual weight of an inner conviction which has *grown* gradually in time, passing through many stages of individual confirmation, and confirmation, moreover, which often came from quarters where the facts seemed at first to run counter to it. Such inner workings of the mind which lead to conviction cannot, from their very organic quality, be imparted fully and at once to others, even if they are not previously biassed in having formed differing opinions on the same subject. It is like attempting to transfer to a third person the faith one has in a friend, which has arisen almost unconsciously with the first touch of sympathy, has grown with long acquaintance, and has become fixed and fastened by his actions under the most varying circumstances. Such an organism of faith and well-founded inner feeling cannot be taken asunder into words and reunited together in half-an-hour's conversation, so that it will present a new organism with all the life which growth in time and under favouring circumstances has given it. To continue the simile: it is in some cases only the specialist who has the means of forming so intimate an acquaintance with certain questions of his study, it is only he who lives in that atmosphere in which he can see the subtle bearing of each smallest manifestation upon the particular question and can feel and appreciate the relation it holds to the whole—as the friend can see the weight of each trivial action in the light of the whole character of his friend. But science cannot heed the inner workings of the mind of even the greatest of its especial professors, it cannot attach any weight to the feelings of the researcher—so long as they remain feelings. It is one of the great tasks of the man of science to study, to recognise, and to enumerate the causes of his belief, recognise and impart the origin of his feelings. He must, by his method of exposition, force the reader to make the synthesis anew, so that he re-creates in the reader the conviction which before was only in his own mind. But if the exponent is not to depend upon subjective support he can at least claim that the reader be not subjective in the way he receives the evidence. Yet here it is frequently the case that

each exoteric reader sets himself against making any attempt at combining into life the various arguments, but selects from them all one or a group which, by experience or disposition, lies nearest to him, and bases upon this his acceptance or rejection of an hypothesis. The nature of an hypothesis, however, generally is that it does not originate from or wholly depend upon one argument only, but that the sum of all the reasons together produce that high degree of probability.

In the present case of the identification of the Choiseul-Gouffier statue with Pythagoras of Rhegion, we must also not forget that there is a negative way of testing the tenability of the hypothesis, and we must ask: if not this, what then? The third possibility of entirely withholding our judgment will not hold good. For the statue exists and has been the subject of published discussion (and if it had not it would be high time that it should be); and the notices concerning Pythagoras exist and have been commented upon, and an omission of this important figure in the history of Greek Art would make that history incomplete; it is therefore the duty of archaeologists to fix and make perfect our notions both about the statue and about the sculptor Pythagoras. The question then must be asked: If this statue is not an athlete, what is it? If an Apollo, enumerate the reasons for this belief, and compare them with those in favour of an athlete. For the fact of his having previously been called Apollo, does not, to say the least, make it unnecessary to prove why he is so called. There can be no question of a shifting of the burden of proof in such a case. Priority or antiquity of statement is not, as it may be in the practice of law, equivalent to a certain quantity of evidence which gives it a start in proof before all other claimant propositions. It is this very unconscious inference by analogy which makes people set themselves against a correction of an earlier statement, even though it be manifestly more probable on equal grounds of inquiry. On the contrary, we may say, that the tendency in modern times, ever since the mania for seeing subjects representing scenes from the 'mysteries' which raged even thirty years ago has subsided, has been to rob many an illustration of its divine or religious character, and to bring it much nearer the hearth and human life. Greek art represented much more of the life that was about it than was formerly supposed: the sepulchral slabs have been most in-

structive in this respect. Many a so-called Apollo and Hermes will have to quit his divine epithet and descend to the character of a simple ephebus or a particular athlete.¹

The question must further be asked: If this statue represents an athlete and is not by Pythagoras, by whom is it? Exception might be taken to the putting of this question; for it may be objected, that it may belong to a sculptor or a school unknown to archaeologists. Yet this objection will not hold good, for the host of passages in the numerous authors relating to Greek art make it more than probable that no great sculptor and school have been omitted, and no very celebrated work of such a sculptor. Now, if any *athlete* statue exists in as many replicas as does this statue, one is justified in concluding that it must have been, not only the work of a celebrated sculptor, but also an individual statue of much repute. Then let the answer to both these questions be compared with the reasons for this attribution of the 'pugilist' to Pythagoras of Rhegion on equal grounds, and whichever is weightier let it be considered the better hypothesis, that is, the best explanation of facts about which it is our duty to know something.

But I may hope that with the confirmation now given the subject has been, if not lifted entirely out of the sphere of the probable into the sphere of the certain, yet at least placed so high in probability that it practically is on the very boundary line between these two phases of human knowledge.

II.

It appears from the report of Mr. Newton's lecture that he ranges the arguments adduced in the first paper under two heads, those that go to prove that the statue under consideration is not an Apollo, and those that tend to show that it is an

¹ But we must also take a warning from the evils of a former 'fashion,' and not, in combating this very exaggeration run to the other extreme of over-humanising Greek art, of seeing scenes

from human life everywhere, and of ignoring the fact that, after all, divinities were the subjects most commonly thought worthy of artistic representation by the Greek artists.

athlete and the work of a particular sculptor, Pythagoras. Strange to say, Mr. Newton looks with greater favour than I could have possibly expected upon the arguments I have adduced to show that the statue is an athlete and may probably be the work of Pythagoras, yet does not consider that the arguments that go to show that it *is not* an Apollo are so conclusive. Others, however, consider the first part of the paper to prove its point beyond any doubt, while they hesitate to accept the second half. Some archaeologists think I am right in the positive part and wrong in the negative, others, that I am right in the negative and wrong in the positive; so that between the two I am either wholly right or wholly wrong. However, I prefer to accept their joint verdict in so far as *it* is positive.

No evidence has been adduced to show that the conclusions I arrived at in the first paper concerning the typical head-dress of the early athletes, in contradistinction to divinities, were unfounded. These conclusions were based upon a great number of instances of ancient monuments quoted in that paper, and a considerable number which I met with in the various museums of Europe, and which I judged unnecessary to add to the list of evidence. Quite recently again I have seen several bronzes in the museum at Berlin which entirely bear out my conclusion—nay, even serve to show that for some of the lighter games, such as the throwing of the discus, even long hair floating down the back was worn. A most noteworthy instance of this is the stelé with a diskophoros,¹ an archaic monument found under the ruins of the old Themistoclean wall at Athens. At all events, I may say that I have found numerous archaic figures whose attitude, attributes, or if paintings environment, evidently show them to be athletes with the hair braided after the manner of the Choiseul-Gouffier statue; while I have not met with a single work with similar hair which, from other reasons, can be shown without a doubt to be an Apollo. It is hardly necessary to say that the enumeration of a number of busts or heads, or ignorantly restored statues, which *have been* called Apollos, can not be used as evidence on either side of the question, especially since the Athenian statue and the Omphalos have been shown to be in no way connected. I have vainly endeavoured to find the first instance in which this type

¹ Overbeck, *Geschichte der Griech. Plastik.*, 3rd ed., vol. I. p. 152.

of head has been described in print as that of an Apollo, and which since has fixed it in archaeological literature; and I must attribute it to the habit of early archaeologists to consider every youthful and beardless figure that came to light from the classical world to be an Apollo, as most bearded figures were named Zeus or Jupiter. But as I have before said, the prolonged continuance of a proposition put forth in a period when archaeology was comparatively in its infancy cannot be a claim to more ready acceptance. To show that this type of head is that of an Apollo, it will be necessary to adduce at least as many figures undoubtedly Apollos with this arrangement of hair as I have enumerated instances of undoubted athletes. And this will be especially called for in an instance in which we have to deal with that marked illustration of bodily strength and with that peculiar athletic attitude which is found in the Choiseul-Gouffier statue.

I may here say that an anatomist of wide reputation, commenting upon the development of the pectoral muscles and the whole of the upper part of the body of the London statue, quite recently expressed his opinion that there could be no doubt of the intention of the sculptor to accentuate the strength of the man, especially in the upper part of the body.

I must confess I was astonished to find that no notice was taken by my critics of one of the most important arguments, namely, the connexion between the attitude of the statue and the ever-recurring typical position of the *ephedros* in the athletic contests. The Greeks had a firmly founded system of exercise and drill in the Palaestra for each special game, and this drill included numerous typical attitudes for each individual contest and the various stages of each contest. This drill, which amounted to sham fight, was called by them *σκιμαρχία*. Now, on innumerable vases we find, besides the judge and the two combatants, a third pugilist or pancratiast waiting for his turn in a constant and peculiar position, which was, we may say, 'attitude No. 1, before the fight.' The same is the case in boxing in our days, and still more in fencing. This preliminary position, moreover, with the arms and shoulders drawn back and the chest protruding, is a most rational one to the Greek's artistic eye, for it tells its story clearly; the most important part of such a man's body where his strength chiefly lies, is the

chest, arms, and shoulders. These *typical* positions in the *σκιαμαχία* were the most ready subjects for the Greek sculptor, who chiefly made his studies in the Palaestra; and, as a matter of fact, the great number of monuments, statues, vases, figures, &c., representing the throwing of the discus that are extant, could readily, and with great profit, be used to show all the various stages of procedure in this game, from its preparation to the expectant attitude of the thrower after the discus has left his hand. Myron chose the moment of highest tension and of complex contortion in his representation of a discobolos, and we know from the notices of ancient authors that this suited his peculiar artistic nature which delighted in the expression of extreme vitality. If he were to have represented the pugilist it is likely that like some later artists he would have chosen from the various postures of the *σκιαμαχία* an attitude of actual engagement expressive of intense exertion. Not so the earlier artists and those of a more moderate and noble taste for what is most suitable for reproduction in sculpture. They would with preference choose the monumental attitude of the preliminary posture in the pugilistic contest, that of the *Ephe-dros*, as we see him on almost every vase representing a *πυγμή*, and as we see him in this statue in the British Museum.

Professor Michaelis asks in his letter that I should explain to him the adjunct to the tree stump in front of the strap and the two *puntelli* above it, before he is prepared to accept my interpretation of the statue. Yet if I have shown that the strap on the stem is decidedly a *himas*, this evidence is not nullified by my incapacity to explain the other adjuncts. One thing is certain, that the projection in front of the strap is *not* the extremity of the lyre of an Apollo nor of any Apollinian attribute that I can think of. Mr. Newton confirms the athletic character of the attributes in holding this projection to be a plait. This may be so, though it is not very distinct. Yet if it is a broad plait or network the question still remains, what purpose it served? And if I am bound to make some conjecture on the matter, I should with all caution draw the attention of archaeologists towards many vases with athletic scenes on which athletes carry their athletic implements (strigil, flask, &c.) in small nets very similar to those used for lawn-tennis balls with us. In some cases these nets are represented as hanging on the

wall together with other similar objects, and their pointed ends may bear some similarity with the end of this plaited adjunct. However, I must say, that it is not unlikely that this rough surface is meant rudely to indicate the bark of the knotty branch there chopped off, as the peculiar appearance at the bottom of the stem has no attributive meaning, but is merely an indication of a form continually to be met with in trees when the bark has split in places and a thick seam incloses the

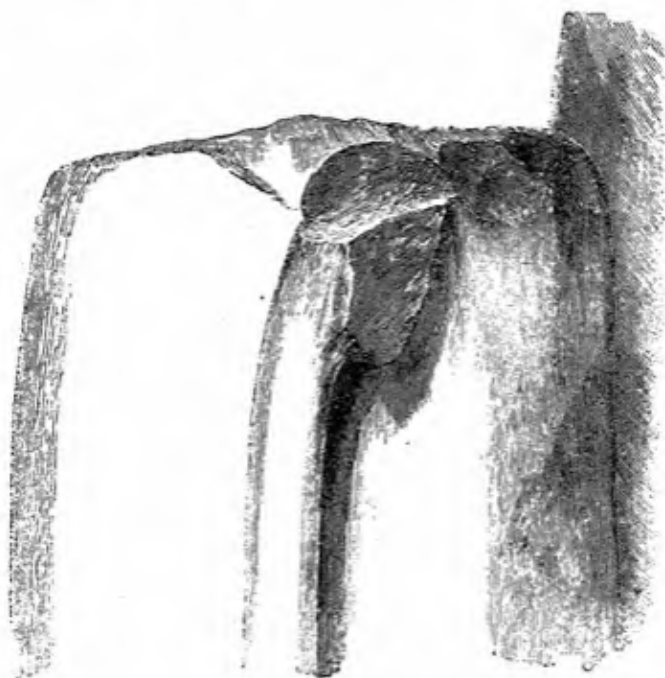


FIG. 1.

wound (if we may call it 'so) in the process of growth. The same applies to the first of the *puntelli* alluded to by Michaelis. This is simply the stump of the lopped off branch. Similar projections can be seen on almost every tree stump of the numerous statues that have them. I am very grateful to Professor Michaelis for having led me to examine more closely the uppermost of these small projections (Fig. 1). For I believe

that the outline of the thumb which was broken away is distinctly visible on the fracture. The measurements of the arm show that the hand would reach to the top of the tree-stump. The action of the right arm would then be most natural. Similar to the *ephedros* on the vase published by Gerhard,¹ this



FIG. 2.

athlete would hold the himas passing through one hand between the thumb and palm 'over the first joint of the forefinger, and hanging down the side of the tree. The hand would thus be touching the edge of the stump. Thus, closing his hand through

¹ *Antike Bildwerke*, Taf. vii.

which a strap is suspended, the thumb in a perpendicular position crossing the horizontal though upturned forefinger, will project downwards beyond the other fingers, the forefinger again projects downwards over the middle finger, the middle over the third, and so on. If the hand is turned up and examined, it presents the picture of four steps leading up to a pinnacle severed from the last by a small breadth. Now, above, and somewhat behind this fracture of the thumb, a small piece is broken away from the top of the stem proper, which would well correspond to the place where the forefinger rested on the trunk. The remainder of the hand would have been free. The nature of the fractures will well bear out this assumption, and this becomes still more probable when we bear in mind that as the himas does not hang over a branch it must have been held in some way by the athlete.

When once guided by the nature of the fractures on the tree stumps we have made this restoration, the position becomes most natural, in fact, the only possible one. The somewhat inadequate sketch (Fig. 2) will serve to illustrate this position. The arm could not have been further forward or else the shoulder would follow, while it is strongly drawn backward. The nature of the relaxed muscles of the upper arm as it is extant, show that the forearm must have gone down to the stump; or else the biceps would be contracted. If one imitates this natural position, one would immediately feel by "experiment" as it were, that this is the real position of a figure in such an attitude with regard to the upper part of the body.

That this statue is that of an athlete, and more especially a pugilist, is finally confirmed when we compare it with the marble statue of the pugilist formerly in the Palazzo Gentili, and now in the Palazzo Albani (Fig. 3). I have previously noticed this work and quoted it from Clarac, yet the outline drawing was so incomplete that its important bearing upon our question was not evident to me. The similarity of attitude in the character of chest and shoulders down to the position of the feet is quite evident upon comparison. Professor v. Duhn has very kindly sent me the proof-sheets of his new edition of Matz's *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, which contains a careful notice of all accessible monuments in the private collections in Rome, and it is from him that I have learned its

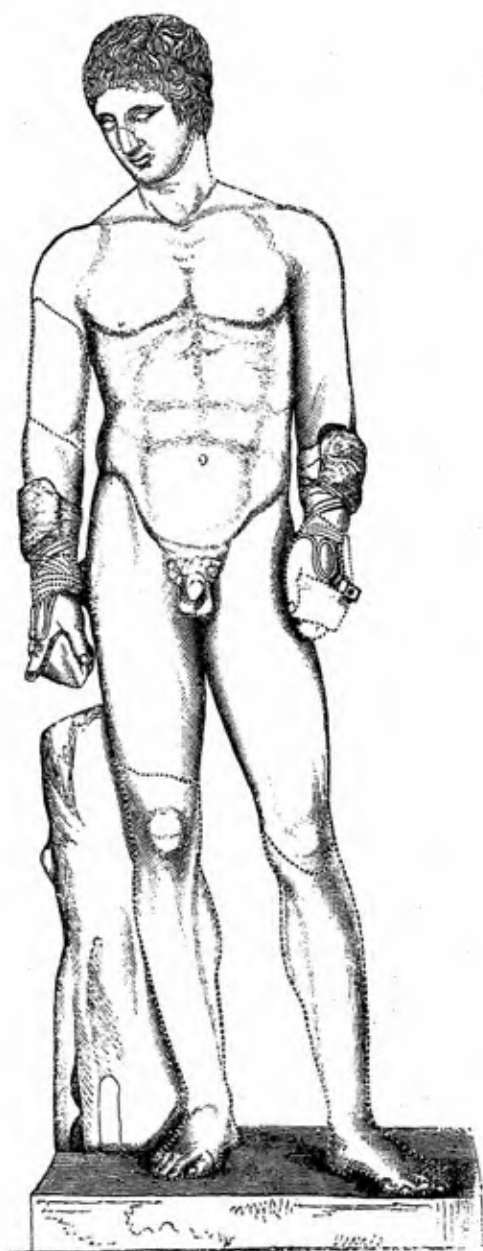


FIG. 3.

present position: for it is published¹ as being in the Palazzo Gentili. We here have the typical position of the pugilist, and, what is most important is that, though a great deal of the statue is restored,² the right forearm, with a part of the *caestus* and joining puntello, is original. This statue is no doubt of later date than those we are dealing with, yet it is a modified adaptation of the same athletic type. And though there may not be any similarity in the details of style and of modelling, there is something more than similarity in the subject represented: there may be a difference in 'the how' he is represented, but there is no difference in 'the what' is represented. The relation between the style of these two pugilists, if there is any, is of no concern to us; but for the present the Gentili pugilist finally shows that the statues in the British Museum, the Patissia Museum at Athens, &c., formerly called the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo, the Apollo on the Omphalos, &c., are not Apollos, but pugilists.

III.

I may hope to have proved definitely that the statue in question is that of a pugilist. The second point, the attribution of this work to Pythagoras of Rhegion has received further confirmation since it was first put in a hypothetical form. It will readily be seen that the fact that this statue represents a pugilist greatly adds to the probability of its proposed attribution.

¹ Cf. Matz, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, new ed. p. 319; Ficoroni, *Breve descriz. di tre particolari statue scopertesì in Roma, l'anno 1739*, viii., &c.; also in *Raccolta d'opuscoli scientif. e filolog. pubbl. da A. Calogierà*, vol. xxii., 491—506, Venezia 1740; Fea, *Misc. i.* cxxxv. 57, and, *Singolarità di Roma Moderna*, 61; Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, lxviii. 3; *Claras*, Pl. 858 D n., 2187 A.

² The restoration was made for the Marchesa Gentili by Vincenzo Pacetti between 1770 and 1775. *Mem. En-*

ciclop. iii., 85. It is not quite certain whether the antique head belongs to this statue or not. In it are restored the nose and a piece of the left eyebrow. Further restorations are: the neck, the left hand, right upper arm, and right hand (the fore-arm, with puntello, is original), and both legs, the right from above the knee down, the left from below the knee, also trunk and base. Cf. v. Duhn, Matz, *l.c.* The restorations are marked with dotted lines in our engraving.

For, among the sculptors before Pheidias, there is no other to whom such a work could be attributed, while Pythagoras of Rhegion was a sculptor of athlete statues *par excellence*, among which that of a heroified pugilist, Euthymos, was most celebrated and frequently copied. Moreover this sculptor, according to the ancients, was 'the first' to express sinews and veins and to aim at the expression of rhythm and symmetry in his works.

It is inconceivable how the 'archaising' mania should have impaired the vision of some archaeologists even with regard to this work, and it can only be explained by a circumstance to which I have previously drawn attention, namely, that the very incongruity of an athlete on an omphalos to which the statue did not properly fit, gave the whole work a want of unity which is the chief characteristic of the later archaising schools, such as that of Pasiteles. I readily take this opportunity of again impressing upon those who have had the great merit to discover a current in the later Greek art which more or less consciously strove towards the reproduction of remote and even conventional styles, that in all the work of the later copyists there is the unavoidable tendency towards introducing the innovations of their contemporary art. This tendency may be called modernising, and its involuntary influence upon the *bond fide* copy of a work remote in antiquity, would readily produce an effect in some respects similar to that of a new creation with a conscious attempt at reproducing the characteristics of an early art. There is nothing severely archaic in this work, no evident attempt at reproducing the imperfections of an artistic technique which is in its infancy, except perhaps the exaggeration and clumsiness of the indication of veins, and this is a most important positive argument in favour of our attribution. The general modelling in all the parts of the surface is not inferior to the composition of the whole figure. The germs of the very highest power of representing the surface of the human body in its full vitality, the naturalness of the pose, the combination of each member with the main body, while, on the other hand, a certain simplicity, almost severity, still binds this posture, and is more evidently cast over the face—all this points most definitely towards that period of transition from quaint archaism to the highest freedom of Pheidias art. This mixture of freedom with traces

of constraint and unobtrusive severity similarly marks the period of transition in the history of Italian painting; and the unprejudiced exclamation of the modern painter upon seeing the London statue '*Mantegna*', was a great confirmation of the conclusion towards which I had been driven through so many definite reasons. Should this statue appear too free in its style for a work of Pythagoras, I would direct the attention of the archaeologist to the Aegina marbles, and remind him of the fact that they are contemporary, and that the *ἐργασία Ἀλγινάα* was considered hard in style by the ancients¹; and I would beg him to examine the *extreme* freedom of the works of Myron, who was but a few years younger than Pythagoras, and who was vanquished by his senior with the Delphic Pancratiast.² And if some consider it too archaic, I would recall to their minds that, after all, Pythagoras is not yet Pheidias, nay, that he is, in the midst of this transition, one of its most powerful agents; that he is the innovator, as is evident from the passages in which he is *primus* and *πρῶτος* to have added new freedom to his works. And they must furthermore bear in mind that the idea of constraint which was suggested to them by the back-drawn shoulders bearing some similarity to the cramped position of some very archaic works, and in which Köhler³ saw the marked archaism of the figure, has a definite intended meaning in the representation of a pugilist-ephedros, and cannot therefore be compared to the stiffness which is the result of the early artist's incapacity to represent the easy, natural 'flow of life.' The question must be asked, How did archaeologists conceive a statue by Pythagoras? And here it was most interesting to me to learn from the letter of Professor Michaelis that he had formerly thought of this very statue as an illustration of the art of Pythagoras, and had even mentioned this in some of his lectures. It is not unlikely that the appearance of Conze's essay on 'The Apollo on the Omphalos' made him desist from prosecuting his research in this direction.

The mischievous archaising theory must be dropped in

¹ Paus. v. 25, 12; Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10, 7, '*duriore et Tuscanicis proxima Callon atque Hegesias, iam minus rigida Calamis*,' &c. Cf. Over-

beck, *Sq.* pp. 81 and 82.

² Plin. xxxiv. 59, 8.

³ As quoted in my first paper.

connexion with this statue. Its origin can be very easily accounted for: No instance of the work of the important sculptor, Pythagoras, had as yet been put forth, even hypothetically; therefore any instance of his work must be new to our eyes; and what is new and unwonted is strange; and strangeness is the chief characteristic of the work of the archaising schools. A work of Pasiteles has neither wholly the characteristics of early nor of late art, of Attic nor of Peloponnesian art. But the work of Pythagoras is neither Attic nor Peloponnesian, neither typically archaic nor post-Pheidias, and still it has some of the characteristics of Attic art, so that Conze would attribute it to Kalamis, and many Peloponnesian elements, so that two of my correspondents lead it back to a Polykleitan archetype; and it has slight traces of archaism, so that half the authorities place it before Pheidias, and also elements of great freedom, so that the other half place it in the time of Pasiteles. But what all this uncertainty clearly means is, that we here have to deal with a school, the work of which was not known to us before, and that, in point of time, this 'neither early nor late' means the period of transition, and the 'neither wholly Attic nor Peloponnesian with elements of both' means a new South Italian school which was sufficiently connected with the great Greek schools to profit by their teaching, and of sufficient independence that one of its sculptors could in important points of artistic advancement be the *primus* and the *πρώτος*.

Another very simple but none the less probable origin of the idea that the Apollo on the Omphalos belongs to the late archaising period, is the peculiar proportions of the figure, very tall and with a comparatively small head. Now it is well known that the Polykleitan canon was square and massive, while Lysippus created a new canon in elongating the figure and in diminishing the size of the head. Now as there were unmistakable elements of archaism in our statue, and as the proportions seemed to correspond to the Lysippian canon, the conclusion was a very natural one, that it belonged to a time posterior to Lysippus, yet which strove back to the very earliest periods of art: i.e. that it is archaistic. Conze has quoted archaic vases in which these proportions occur; from which he rightly upholds the archaic character of the work. Now because

the Lysippian did thus differ from the Polykleitan canon, there is no reason to assume that there were not all kinds of human proportions in sculpture (including some like those of Lysippus) before a *canon* was at all established by Polykleitos. The coin from Selinus (Fig. 5) to which we shall direct our attention, and which cannot be later than the fifth century, manifests the same proportions (if not even more exaggerated in slinness) as our statue.

I should like to venture upon a wider generalisation which suggests itself to me through these considerations on the development of Greek art. It appears to me that the reactive influence of Greek culture in the colonies of Southern Italy and Sicily upon the life and culture of the mother country has not been sufficiently noticed. A colony which from its origin is in sympathy with the life and aspirations of the mother country, yet is unhampered by the fixed traditions that often act as a check to originality, is pre-formed to introduce and rapidly to live through great reformatory movements. This is true in all periods of history, and in Greece this must have been to some degree the position of Magna Graecia. Among many instances I need merely point to the activity of the philosopher Pythagoras at Croton, an idealistic yet real reform in philosophical theory no less than in social and political life. In art I had always been puzzled by the unique character of the earliest metopes from Selinus, unique alike for their boldness, as also for the evident traces of schooling, so that they are above all the contemporary works from the rest of Greece. Yet if we consider that the emigrant artist who was one of the party of settlers, though he had received strict schooling at home, worked with a certain freedom when removed from the eye of his master and the school, the mixture in these works will no longer strike us as strange. Such inferences concerning remote antiquity are not more improbable because they happen to conform with the general likelihood of human action even in our own very modern times.

Pythagoras of Rhegion was the very person who, from his hereditary and natural predispositions, could conciliate and bring together the striking characteristics of the great Attic and Peloponnesian schools, which, in archaic art, stood as it were opposed to one another: the strong feeling for vitality,

which frequently, from the want of skill in the early artists, transgressed the laws of form and composition, and the Peloponnesian feeling for law and conventional regularity, which, as in the numerous reliefs from Sparta that have come down to us, does not allow the figures to attain the appearance of free vitality. Before these two elements have been well knit together in harmony we have not yet entered the period of artistic freedom. Free from the immediate pressure, from the shackles of any one school, this Rhegian of Samian origin, whose very adopted country was a mixture of both races, whose first master was a Rhegian and the second a Spartan, had all the opportunity to travel and to learn what each school could give, and not enough to be a slave to the idiosyncrasies of either of them. And so Pythagoras became, if not the founder, at least the chief representative of a school of sculpture which must have flourished for some time in the Greek colonies of the south of Italy, and whose numerous remains, found on the spot, have not yet been sufficiently studied with regard to their distinctive features.

An illustration in favour of the uniform character among the works found in the south of Italy will at the same time be the final confirmation I have to offer for the attribution of our statue to Pythagoras of Rhegion. A Didrachm of



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.

Metapontum,¹ which belongs to the first half of the fifth century B.C., represents the river-god Achelous with a human body and a bearded head, which has the horns and ears of a bull (a combination of a man and a bull is a common representation of a river-god). He holds in his right hand a patera, and in his left the branch of some tree. A coin

¹ Millingen, *Considérations sur les Monnaies de l'Ancienne Italie*, &c. *Notices des Monnaies gravées*, &c., suppl. P. 5, Pl. i. No. 1; Sambon, *Recherches*

sur les Monnaies de la Presqu'île Italique, &c., Naples, 1870, p. 264, Nos. 13 and 14, Pl. xix. 7 and 9; Jahn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1862, t. 168, 4, p. 321.

from Pandosia in Bruttium¹ has on the obverse a female head with inscription, ΠΑΝΔΟΣΙΑ, surrounded by a laurel wreath, and on the reverse a youth (Fig. 4) holding in his right a patera or a wreath, and in his left a laurel branch; the inscription is ΚΡΑΘΙ. The date of this coin is placed at about 430 B.C. Finally, the most important of all for comparison with our statue is the coin from Selinus, before mentioned (Fig. 5), whose similarity in attitude, proportions, indication of muscles down to the headdress, is most evident.² It may be difficult for many³ to compare properly a figure on a small coin rubbed and effaced by age with a more than over life-size statue with regard to the similarity of both. The points of difference between the two will be so striking that they will monopolise attention to the detriment of any claims to similarity to one who has but a small number of instances which would give him a scale of relative difference. But to a specialist, or one at all conversant with the comparative study of this class of objects, the similarity of the general type, of the definite attitude and proportions of the body, will be most manifest. I must remind the reader that, on p. 187 of the first article, I suggested as the possible restoration of this statue a palm branch in his left hand (which would account for the notch on the left leg of both the London and Athenian statues) and a wreath in his right. Both these accessories were the typical attributes of athletic victors. In this case we must substitute the himas for the wreath. Now, in the river-gods on both these coins, we seem to have the type borrowed by the inferior artist, the die-sinker, from the well-known athlete statues he saw in his own immediate environment. It has been shown in numerous instances⁴ that the figures on coins were generally

¹ Sambon, *ibid.*, P. 342, Pl. xxiii. No. 13; *Catalogue of Gr. Coins in Brit. Mus.* (edited by R. S. Poole), Italy, p. 370, No. 1.

² P. Gardner, *River Worship, &c.* *Transact. of R. Soc. of Lit.* vol. xi. p. 173.

³ Whoever has been called upon for the first time to look through a microscope to notice the likeness between minute structures, will see how much practice it needs to perceive similarity

in such instances. I have ever found it more difficult to teach people to perceive similarity than difference. Perhaps because the perception of likeness is more a matter of feeling, while difference is more a matter of the intellect.

⁴ e.g., the Athenian coins with regard to the reproduction of the Promachos, the Tyrannicides by Kritios Nesiotes, the Eirene with the infant Plutos by Kephisodotos the Elder, &c.

taken from some well-known and celebrated work. But, one might ask, what is the connexion between these river-gods and athletes? The ever-moving, twining and twisting mountain-river of Greece presented himself to the imagination of the Greek as an active and powerful man, half a beast in his physical strength; and so, in the earlier representations, he is generally a combination of man and snake, or man and bull, from his twining movement and his roaring rush. On innumerable vases there are scenes in which heroes wrestle with river-gods, the prototype of which contest is the wrestling between Herakles and this very Acheloos.¹ They are the fathers of great heroes and athletes, and the very pugilist Euthymos was made the son of the local river-god Kekynos.² But especially important is their connexion with the athletic games which they no doubt localised, and of which they shared the honour. The hair of the youths, upon their entry into manhood, is offered them.³ At Olympia the victor honours the Alpheios⁴ along with the twelve great gods among whom he also has his altar.⁵ Now, as the great Olympian games were a chronological landmark for the whole of Greece, so the local games would be for smaller districts, and this would be a definite time to strike coins. Mr. Head has made to me a very ingenious suggestion, that in connexion with these games there was also a kind of fair, where, all the neighbouring people streaming together, considerable commerce was carried on, and thus there would be a call for money and a natural time to strike it. This would be the purport of the Ἀχελόου ἀθλον on one of the Metapontine coins. The river-gods were represented either as old or young, generally with some relation to the size of the river. On the coin of Pandosia the river Krathis is a young man, so also on the Selinus coin. Now when the die-sinker desired to represent a young river-god in an athletic connexion, he would naturally, to some extent, rely upon some famous statue of an artist of repute within his country. What is more, all these 'guilds' of the higher or smaller art (though the Greeks never made this distinction, the lesser arts being to them of the highest

¹ Soph. *Trach.* 510, &c. Cf. Gard. *ner*, *l.c.* 6, Paus. viii. 41, 3, &c.

⁴ Pind. *Ol.* xi. 48.

² *Ibid.* first paper.

⁵ Paus. v. 14, 5.

³ *Il.* xxiii. 142-148, Aesch. *Choeph.*

importance), such as sculptors, painters, and architects on the one hand, and gem-cutters, goldsmiths, vase-painters, and die-sinkers on the other, were all immediately connected. Nay, the same artist very frequently practised several of these together. The figures on the Pandosian and Selinuntine coin are entirely the type of an athlete, so much so that Sambon simply calls the first *un ephèbe*.¹ It will readily be seen what important confirmation for our attribution of the statue to Pythagoras of Rhegion the similarity of the coin from a neighbouring town in the same province and from a town in the vicinity in Sicily is; for, to put it negatively to those unaccustomed to this study, no other coin from any part of Greece can offer a figure that has anything like the similarity that subsists between this coin and our statue.

Coins, then, have thus helped us to clench our previous arguments. By giving a definite locality, or group of localities, as the home of these mixed characteristics of style, which a study of the monuments themselves and their history had led us to point to as marks of a positive school, well defined though ill recognised as yet, they have enabled us to feel ourselves on safe ground. Let me only add one point more. During the last few months M. Rayet has given us an excellent reproduction of the archaic bronze head at Naples in his *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, Livraison II., referred to in my former paper, p. 177. A more thorough comparison of this head with the head of our statue is called for. I must remind the reader that I have throughout accepted the view that the marbles under consideration are not late and Roman, but early Greek, copies from a bronze original. Now, if our plate of the Choiseul-Gouffier statue is placed beside the plate of the Naples bronze in M. Rayet's book, the extraordinary similarity, almost amounting to identity, will be most evident. I must, moreover, draw attention to the fact that this original bronze head was found at Herculaneum in Southern Italy. But these suggestions open the way to a very wide field, which it is impossible to enter upon now.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN,

¹ *L.c.*



A NEW DIADUMENOS GEM.

ANNEXED is a woodcut engraved after an impression from an intaglio formerly in the hands of Signor Castellani, and now in private possession in England. The original, which is half the size of the cut, is a plasma of somewhat rude Roman workmanship. Its subject is unmistakable. It represents a victorious athlete (expressly designated as such by the palm branch placed in a prize jar at his side) who stands at his ease, with the left leg free, and his weight thrown on the right, while he winds the *taenia* about his head with both hands.

So far as I am aware, this is the first representation of the subject on a gem of which an engraving has ever been published. Only one other is known to exist, and that is on a stone of similar substance (*plasma di smeraldo*), formerly in the collection of a Mr. Currie. A cast of this was issued in the *Impronte gemmarie* of the Archaeological Institute, cent. VI. no. 73 (see *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1839, p. 111).¹ It lacks the emblems of the palm branch and jar.

Considering the relation well known to be often borne by the representations on engraved gems to famous statues of antiquity, we should naturally expect to recognise, in this subject of an athlete binding on the *taenia*, a copy of the celebrated

¹ For this reference I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Michaelis. I have not yet been able to ascertain whether this Mr. Currie is identical

with the Sir William Currie who, in 1862, bequeathed a collection of engraved gems and other antiquities to the Museum of the Uffizi at Florence.

Diadumenos of Polykleitos (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 5, Lucian, *Philopseud.* 18). Among ancient marble statues representing the same subject, the work of Polykleitos is generally supposed to be most faithfully represented by that found at Vaison in the South of France, and now in the British Museum (see especially Michaelis, *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1878, p. 5, *sqq.*, *Mon.* x. 49, and compare the bronze statuette of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, published by M. Fr. Lenormant in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1877, pl. 24, p. 138).

Comparing, then, the gem figured in our cut with the *Diadumenos* of Vaison, we find that the attitude, balance, and square proportions of the figure, as well as the position of the arms, may be said in a general sense to correspond. On the other hand, the head and shoulders are slightly less inclined towards the right of the figure in the gem than in the statue, and there is less inequality in the height of the two elbows; while the free left leg is in the statue represented as thrown behind the right, as though in the act of walking, but in the gem appears to be equally advanced with it. This, and the position of the knees, which in the gem are close together instead of being parted as in the Vaison figure, brings the representation before us in some points nearer to the type exemplified in the Farnese statue, also in the British Museum, than to the Vaison type. It is unsafe, however, to base any very positive arguments on so slight a work as this little intaglio. While furnishing a new evidence of the popularity of the subject among the ancients, our gem fails, I think, to help us much in deciding which of the well-known variations of the subject most nearly resembles the original of Polykleitos. Especially does it fail in giving any indication of the true character of the head. The face in the intaglio is disproportionately long, and the features rude and characterless; the head is surmounted by a shapeless roll composed of hair and *taenia* together. The ends of the *taenia*, it will nevertheless be observed, are clearly shown; they fall from both hands in a manner fairly answering to that in which the one preserved end (the right) falls from the hand of the Farnese figure.

SIDNEY COLVIN.

ON AN UNEDITED RHODIAN INSCRIPTION.

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ΤΑΣ		Σ	
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ΩΝ			
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ΚΑ			10
ΓΗ			
ΔΑ			
ΩΝ	ΣΤΕΦΑ . . ΙΚΥΡ .		
ΘΕΝΙΟ.....	ΣΜΑΤΟΣΟΙΕΓ'ΙΣ . .		
ΤΑΙΚΑΙΟΙΚ.....	ΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΩΝΤΑΣ		15
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣ.....	ΡΕΥΣΙΟΣΕΝΤΩΙΕΓ'Ε . .		
. ΑΣΥΛΛΟΓΩ. Ο.....	ΑΙΕΙΣΤΟΝΜΕΤΑΤΑΥΤ .		
ΧΡΟΝΟΝΦΑΝΕΡ.....	ΟΪΑΝΤΑΕΥΘΑΛΙΔΑΙ		
ΕΛΕΣΘ ΩΣ ΑΝΑ....	ΟΔΕΑΙΡΕΘΕΙΣΑΙΤΗΣΑΣ		
ΘΩΤΑΝΒΟΥΛΑΝΚΑΙ..	ΝΔΑΜΟΝΔΕΔΟΣΘΑΙΕΥΘ		20
. ΛΙΔΑΙΣΕΓΓΑΙΝΕΣΑΙΚ..	ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΙΣΩΣΙΚΡΑ..		

ΚΛΕΩΝΥΜΟΥΝΕΤΤ..ΑΝΚΑΙΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΣΤΟΔ.
 ΤΟΥΨΑΦΙΣΜΑΕΙΣΣΤΑΛΑΝΛΙΘΙΝΑΝΑΘΕΤΩΕ.
 ΝΕΤΤΕΙΑΙΕΝΤΩΠΙΕΡΩΙΤΩΙΤΟΥΔΙΟΣΤΟΥ
 ΓΑΤΡΩΙΟΥΕΙΚΑΕΥΘΑΛΙΔΑΙΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΩΝΤ.. 25
 ΟΔΕΙΕΡΟΤΑΜΙΑΣΤΕΛΕΣΑΤΩΕΙΣΤΑΕΡΓΑΜ.
 ΓΛΕΙΟΝΔΡΑΧΜΑΝΓΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑΙΡΕΘ...
 ΕΥΦΡΑΝΩΡΔΑΡΔΑΝΟΥΝΕΤΤΙΔΑΣ
 ΕΠΙΕΡΕΩΣΑΓΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΥΕ
 ΒΔΟΜΑΙΕΞΙΚΑ.ΟΣΕΔΟΞΕΤΑΙΒΟΥΛΑ. 30
 ΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΑΜΩΙΕΥΦΡΑΝΩΡΔΑΡΔΑΝΟΥΝ..
 ΤΙΔΑΣΕΙΓΕΔΕΔΟΣΘΑΙΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΙΔΑΡΔΑΝ..
 ΝΕΤΤΙΔΑΙΚΑΙΕΥΘΑΛΙΔΑΝΤΩΙΚΟΙΝΩΙΕΡ..
 ΝΕΣΑΙΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΙΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΚΛ.
 ΩΝΥΜΟΥΝΕΤΤΙΔΑΝΘΑΛΛΟΥΣΤΕΦΑΝ.. 35
 ΑΝΑΘΕΜΕΙΝΔΕΚΑΙΣΤΑΛΑΝΕΝΝΕΤΤΕΙ..
 .ΝΤΩΠΙΕΡΩΙΤΟΥΔΙΟ.ΤΟΥΓΑΤΡΩΙΟΥ

5

10

ων .στεφά[νω]ι, κυρ[ω-
 θέντο[ς δὲ τοῦ ψαφί]σματος οἱ ἐπισ[τά-
 ται καὶ οἱ κ[άρυκες ἐπιμ]εληθέντων τᾶς 15
 στεφανώσ[ιος καὶ ἀναγο]ρεύσιος ἐν τῷ ἔπε[ι-
 τ]α συλλόγῳ· ὅ[πως οὖν κ]αὶ εἰς τὸν μετὰ ταύτ[α
 χρόνον φανερ[ὰ ἢ τὰ δ]όξαντα, Εὐθαλίδαι
 ἐλέσθωσαν ἀ[νδρα], ὁ δὲ αἵρεθεὶς αἰτησάσ-
 θω τὰν βουλὰν καὶ [τὸ]ν δᾶμον δεδόσθαι Εὐθ- 20
 α]λίδαις ἐπαινέσαι κ[αὶ] στεφανῶσαι Σωσικρά[τη
 Κλεωνύμου Νεττ[ίδ]αν καὶ ἀναγράψας τόδε[ε
 τὸ ψάφισμα εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν ἀναθέτω ἐ]ν
 Νεττείᾳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
 Πατρώϊου εἴ κα Εὐθαλίδαι ἀποδείξωντ[αι· 25
 ὁ δὲ ἱεροταμίας τελεσάτω εἰς τὰ ἔργα μ[ὴ
 πλεῖον δραχμῶν πεντήκοντα· αἶρεθ[ε]ἰς
 Εὐφράνωρ Δαρδάνου Νεττίδας.
 Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἀγιστράτου Καρνείου ἐ-
 βδόμῃ ἐξ ἰκά[δος], ἔδοξε τᾷ βουλῇ 30
 καὶ τῷ δάμῳ, Εὐφράνωρ Δαρδάνου Ν[ετ-
 τίδας εἶπε, δεδόσθαι Εὐφράνωρι Δαρδάν[ου
 Νεττίδα καὶ Εὐθαλιδᾶν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπ[αι-
 νέσαι καὶ στεφανῶσαι Σωσικράτη Κλ[ε-
 ωνύμου Νεττίδαν θαλλοῦ στεφάν[ω
 ἀναθέμειν δὲ καὶ στάλαν ἐν Νεττείᾳ 35
 ἐ]ν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς[ς] τοῦ Πατρώϊου.

I found this inscription in the ruins of a church called *Agia Irenè*, about a quarter of an hour's distance from the village of *Apolakkia* in Rhodes. This village is situated near the sea on the south-west side of the island (see my *Travels and Discoveries*, i., p. 198).

This inscription contains part of two decrees, of which the first was passed by the *κοινόν* of the *Euthalidai*. The upper part of the stone being wanting, we only know the latter part of this first decree, from which we learn that a crown had been voted by the *κοινόν* to *Sosikrates*, son of *Kleonymos*, a *Netteian*, and that this honour was to be publicly proclaimed in the usual manner. We learn further that it was necessary that this decree should be confirmed by a *Boulè*, 'senate,' and *Demos*, 'popular assembly,' to the control of which the *Euthalidai* were subject.

The κοινόν therefore appoints Euphranor, son of Dardanos, a Netteian, with instructions to obtain from the Boulè and Demos the permission to bestow this crown on Sosikrates with the usual ἔπαινος or laudatory harangue, and to engrave the decree on a *stelè* and dedicate it in the Hieron of Zeus Patroïos in Netteia.

The second decree passed by the Boulè and Demos, whose ratification was required, gives the required permission to the κοινόν of the Euthalidai, and to their representative in this matter, Euphranor, to honour Sosikrates with an ἔπαινος and a crown, and to set up a *stelè* at Netteia, thus ratifying the first decree.

This second decree is dated the 27th of the month Karneios, during the term of office of the *hierèus* Agestratos. The Euthalidai, whose decree forms the subject of this inscription, were doubtless one of those religious associations generally known as *Thiasi*, *Erani*, *Orgeones*, respecting which both M. Foucart and M. Lüders have contributed valuable memoirs.

Rhodes had many such associations, as we know from inscriptions found either in Rhodes itself or in its dependencies. The following list contains all the Rhodian associations of this kind known to us from this source.

1. Ἀγαθοδαιμονισταὶ Φιλόνειοι. Foucart, *Associations Religieuses*, p. 230, No. 48.
2. Ἀδωνισταί. From coast of Gulf of Symè, opposite Rhodes. *Ibid.* p. 233, No. 56.
3. Ἀθαναῖσσταί. *Ibid.* p. 229, No. 47.
4. Ἀθαναῖσταί; Λινδιασταί. *Ibid.* p. 230, No. 48.
5. Ἀλιασταὶ καὶ Ἀλιαδαί. *Ibid.* p. 227, No. 46.
6. Ἀπόλλωνος Στραταγίου [... κοινού. *Ibid.* p. 230, No. 48.
7. Ἀσκληπιασταί. Unedited inscription. Kamiros.
8. Ἀσκληπιασταὶ οἱ ἐν Αὐλαῖς. Coast of Gulf of Symè. Foucart, p. 233, No. 56.
9. Ἀφροδευσιασταί. Island of Chalkè near Rhodes. *Ibid.* p. 232, No. 53.
10. Διονυσιασταί. *Ibid.* p. 229, No. 43.
11. Διονυσιασταὶ Χαιρημόνειοι. *Ibid.* p. 230, No. 48.

12. Διοσταταβυριασταί. *Ibid.* p. 229, No. 47.
13. Διοσταταβυριασταί Εὐφρανόρειοι οἱ σὺν Ἀθηναίῳ Κνιδίῳ. *Ibid.* p. 229, No. 47.
14. Διοσξευριασταί. *Ibid.* p. 230, No. 48.
15. Ἑρμαῖοι. Unedited inscription. Kamiros.
16. Εὐθαλίδαι. Apolakkia inscription. See p. 356, *ante*.
17. Ἑρσεῖοι. Foucart, *Assoc. Rel.* p. 233, No. 56.
18. Θιασιτῶν κοινόν. Unedited inscription. Kamiros.
19. Νακόρειοι. Unedited inscription. Kamiros.
20. Ξουσαριασταί. From Island of Chalkè near Rhodes. Foucart, *Assoc. Rel.* p. 231, No. 52.
21. Οἰακιασταί. From coast of Gulf of Symè. *Ibid.* p. 233, No. 56.
22. Παναθαναῖοι. From Chalkè. *Ibid.* p. 232, No. 53.
23. Πανιασταί. From Chalkè. *Ibid.* p. 227, No. 46.
24. Πυργανίδαι. Unedited inscription. Kameiros.
25. Σαμοθρακιασταί καὶ Λημνιασταί. Lindos. Foucart in *Revue Archéologique*, xi. p. 219.
26. Σαμοθρακιασταί Μεσόνεοι. *Ibid.*
27. Σωτηριασταί Ἡροῖοι. From Chalkè. Foucart, *Assoc. Relig.*, p. 230, No. 49.

The inscriptions which mention the associations in the foregoing list were all found at Rhodes, with the following exceptions: Nos. 9, 20, 22, 23, 27, which are from the little island of Chalkè. This little island must, from its contiguity to Rhodes, have always been one of its dependencies. Nos. 2, 8, 21, are from the coast of the Gulf of Symè, which must have been part of the Peraia, subject to Rhodes during the period of its independence. It may therefore be assumed that the eight associations named in these inscriptions from Chalkè and the Gulf of Symè are to be reckoned as Rhodian.

The names of nearly all these associations end in *ασται* or *ισται*, a termination distinctive of *Thiasi* and *Erani*. No. 19, *Νακόρειοι*, may possibly be a *Deme*, not a *Thiasos* or *Eranos*, but as it occurs in a group of such associations, I prefer to class it with the rest. The first of the two decrees in our inscription doubtless contained in the upper portion, now missing, a statement of the

grounds on which the honour of a crown and an ἔπαινος was bestowed on Sosikrates. In passing such a decree the Euthalidai followed the procedure usually observed in such religious bodies, which are generally thought to have been corporations having the power to administer their property, and to enact decrees and regulations which their members were bound to observe, provided such enactments did not contravene the laws of the state. (See Foucart, *Assoc. Relig.* pp. 47, 48, in the appendix to which the texts of nearly all the extant decrees of this kind are printed.) On the evidence of these texts M. Foucart adopts the view maintained by M. Caillemer (*Le Droit de Société à Athènes*, Paris, 1872, p. 11), that these societies were the absolute masters of their internal administration. "Les lois ou règlements," observes M. Foucart, p. 50, "acceptés par les associés étaient regardés par les tribunaux comme obligatoires pour eux, à moins qu'il n'y eût contradiction avec la législation publique." Now it is clear that at Rhodes this absolute independence of religious associations was not permitted at the time when the inscription before us was engraved. The first decree appoints a person to demand the sanction of the decree in honour of Sosikrates; the second decree gives the sanction required, which would be technically called κύρωσις. It is this sanction which is implied in the expression (lines 13, 14) κυρ[ω]θέντο[ς δὲ τοῦ ψαφί]σματος.

On turning to a well-known Rhodian decree, published by Böckh, *Corp. Inscript.* 2525 b, lines 12-16, we find the same expression: τύχη ἀγαθὴ δεδόχθαι τῷ κοινῷ τῷ Ἀλιαδᾶν κ[αὶ Ἀ]λιαστᾶν, κυρωθεῖσάν τᾶνδε τᾶν τιμᾶν, ἐπαινέσαι καὶ στεφανώσαι, κ.τ.λ. We may hence infer the Haliadai and Haliastai had no power to put their decree in force till it had been sanctioned by a higher authority. What was that higher authority? In the case of the Euthalidai a βουλή and δῆμος give the necessary κύρωσις. This βουλή and δῆμος we must assume to be either those of the Deme, Netteia, mentioned in the inscription, or of the πόλις in the territory of which that Deme was situated. That πόλις was most probably Lindos, and at first sight it would seem most probable that the sanction of the decree of the Euthalidai would have been issued from that city. For Lindos was certainly the most important place in the part of the island in which Netteia was situated, and probably therefore

included it in its territory. But there are two objections to this, first, all the decrees of Lindos have, like those of Ialysos, in their heading the words *ἔδοξε μάστροισι καὶ Λινδίοις*, not *ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*, as here. Moreover the second decree as well as the first is to be set up on a *stelè* in the *Hieron* of Zeus Patroïos in Netteia, whereas Lindian decrees are usually set up in the *Hieron* of Athenè at Lindos. I therefore assume that in the second decree the *βουλή* and *δῆμος* were those of Netteia. That this place was a Deme, not a city, may be inferred, first because no such city is mentioned, so far as I know, by Stephanos or any other writer, and secondly because the ethnic *Νεττιδᾶς* occurs in a Lindian inscription published by Foucart, *Revue Archéologique*, N. S. xv. p. 207, in a list of ethnics which seem all to belong to Demes. In the Rhodian inscription, Böckh, *Corp. Inscript.* No. 2525 b, already referred to, the decree of the Haliadai and Haliastai was probably ratified by the city of Rhodes.

It would seem from the evidence of these two inscriptions that the religious corporations in Rhodes were subjected to more state control than in the other Greek cities where we find them established. This is quite in accordance with other facts in reference to ritual and other religious matters which we obtain from the Lindian inscription, *Revue Archéologique*, N. S., xv. p. 207, and from the two inscriptions from Kamiros and Ialysos published by me in the *Transact. of Roy. Soc. Literature*, xi. pp. 435-47.

Line 14. The *ἐπιστάται* here mentioned occur in other Rhodian inscriptions: see the Kamiros inscription published by me in *Transact. Roy. Soc. Lit.* xi. p. 442; also, Ross, *Inscript. Ined.* iii. p. 27, No. 276; *Revue Archéol.* N. S. xv. p. 209. They seem to have been a board of commissioners charged with superintendence of various matters connected with worship.

Line 15. *κάρυκες*. In the Rhodian decree, *Corp. Inscript.* 2525 b, already referred to, we have *ἱεροκάρυκες* for the *ἀναγόμενους* of the honorary decree, and such honours are said to be *κάρυκτοι*.

Line 17. *ἐν τῷ ἑπε[ι]τα συλλέγῳ*. The *σύλλογοι*, or meetings of *Thiasi* and *Erani*, took place at regular intervals. See *Corp. Inscript.* 2525 b, line 60:

ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ ἐν τῷ ἐχομένῳ μηνὶ τῶν συνόδων.

Line 26. εἰς τὰ ἔργα. These would include engraving the *stelè* and setting it up. The cost is not to exceed fifty drachmae, about £2; this was the usual price of such work.

Line 28. The Εὐφράνωρ here mentioned may have given his name to the Διοσταταβυριασταὶ Εὐφρανόρειοι. See *ante*, No. 13.

Line 29. Ἐπὶ ἱερέως. This would of course be the *Hiercus* of Helios, the usual eponymous magistrate in Rhodian decrees.

C. T. NEWTON.

INSCRIPTION FROM KALYMNOS.

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| ΕΓΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥΚΛΕΥ | Ἐπὶ Στεφανηφόρου Κλευ- |
| ΦΩΝΤΟΣΤΟΥΦΙΛΩΝΙΔΑ | -φώντος τοῦ Φιλωνίδα, |
| ΜΘΕΥΔΑΙΣΙΟΥ ΛΙΜΟ | Μ(ηνὸς) Θευδαισίου αἰ, Μο- |
| ΝΑΡΧΙΟΙΣ ΝΕΙΚΗΜΕΝΕ | -ναρχίοις Νείκη Μενε- |
| 5 ΚΡΑΤΟΥΑΝΕΚΗΡΥΞΕΤΗΝ | -κράτου ἀνεκήρυξε τὴν |
| ΙΔΙΑΝΘΡΕΠΤΗΝΗΔΟΝΗ. | ιδίαν θρεπτὴν Ἡδονή[ν |
| ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΝΕΦΩΠΑΡΑ | ἐλευθέραν ἐφ' ᾧ παρα- |
| ΜΕΝΕΙΑΥΤΗΤΟ. ΤΗΣ | -μενεῖ αὐτῇ τὸ(ν) τῆς |
| ΖΩΗΣΑΥΤΗΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ | ζωῆς αὐτῆς χρόνον. |
| 10 ΕΠΙΤΟΥΑΥΤΟΥΤΟΙΣΕΠΙ | Ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῖς ἐπὶ |
| ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΜΠΑΝΗΜΟΥ | Ποσειδῶ, Μ(ηνὸς) Πανήμου |
| Ζ. ΡΙΟΦΩΝΚΑΙ. ΒΡΙΑ | ξ [Κ]ριοφῶν καὶ [Α]βριά- |
| ΔΑΣΟΙΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΥΑΝΕ | δας οἱ Δωροθέου ἀνε- |
| ΚΗΡΥΞΑΝΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΝ | κήρυξαν ἐλεύθερον |
| 15 ΑΓΑΘΟΠΟΔΑΚΑΤΑ | Ἀγαθόποδα κατὰ |
| ΤΟΥΣΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΩ | τοὺς ἀπελευθερω- |
| ΤΙΚΟΥΣΝΟΜΟΥΣ | τικούς νομούς |

I copied this inscription in 1855 from a marble found in a garden near the Marina, called Blyko, in the island of Kalymnos, the ancient Kalymna. On this site formerly stood the Church of Panagia Kalymniotissa.

In the year 1854 I explored the site of the Temple of Apollo in that island and discovered there a number of inscriptions, most of which will appear in Part II. of the work on *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, of which Part I. was published in 1874.

The inscription which I have here selected for publication, and which was not taken away by me from Kalymnos, is one of a well-known class which relate to the enfranchisement of slaves, and of which many examples have been found at Delphi and elsewhere. The forms and conditions of such enfranchisement varied in different places (See M. Foucart's article, *Apelautheroi*, in Daremberg, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, where the subject is very fully treated). On the site of the Temple of Apollo at Kalymnos I discovered a number of these inscriptions relating to enfranchisements, most of which are now in the National Collection, and will be given in the forthcoming Part of *Inscriptions in the British Museum*. There is no doubt that the inscription here treated of was taken from the site of the Temple of Apollo to the church in Kalymnos where I copied it. In nearly all the Kalymnian inscriptions of this class the slave, *θρεπτός*, *θρέμμα*, is made free on condition that he or she remain in the master's service till his death, and in some cases further conditions are imposed. Such deeds of enfranchisement, like those of Mantinea in Arkadia, must be regarded as forms of manumission without any religious character (See Foucart, *Inscript. Grecques* in Lebas, *Voyage Archéologique*, II. § 6, p. 218). The marbles on which these documents were engraved were usually placed in the hieron of Apollo or of some other deity, to ensure the permanence of the record.

The eponymous magistrate in the inscription here published, as in several other Kalymnian deeds of enfranchisement, is the Stephanephoros. The first deed is dated the eleventh of the month *Θευδαίσιος*, line 3. The mention of this month has a special value, because it enables me to complete the calendar of Kalymnian months. I have obtained the other eleven months partly from other deeds of enfranchisement, and partly from decrees, all from Kalymnos, and as yet unedited.

The list of the twelve months is as follows: Ἀγριάνιος, Πεδαγείντιος, Βαδρόμιος, Ἀρταμίτιος, Θευδαίσιος, Ῥακίνθιος, Καρνέιος, Πάναμος, Ἐλάφριος, Ἀλσεῖος, Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός,

Τιβέριος. The eight first months in this list are identical with months in the calendars of Rhodes and her colonies in Sicily. Of the month Ἀλσειός one other instance occurs in a Koian inscription published by M. Hauvette-Besnault (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, v. p. 223), who states that this month also occurs on an unedited inscription from the Sporades. See also *ibid.* vi. p. 339, where Ἀλσειόν is given as a stamp on the handle of an amphora. There is at present no evidence to show in what order the Kalymnian months succeeded each other.

Βαδρόμιος, as we learn from another unedited Kalymnian inscription, was coincident with the Koian month Καφίσιος (lines 3, 4).

Μοναρχίαις. The Monarchia must have been a festival at Kalymna. We find the Monarchos as an eponymous magistrate at Kos (see Ross, *Inscript. Inéd.* II., p. 60, No. 175; Rayet, *Inscript. Inédites des Sporades*, Part I., p. 7; *Bullet. de Correspond. Hellén.* v., p. 239) and the heading ἐπὶ Μ, which we find on most of the Kalymnian deeds of enfranchisement already referred to, is probably the abbreviation of ἐπὶ Μονάρχου. The great physician of Kos, Hippokrates, was, according to his biographer, Soranus, born in the month Ἀγριάνιος, μοναρχοῦντος Ἀβριάδα (Soranus Ephes. ap. *Physic. et Med. Minores*, Ideler, I. p. 253). The functions of the Monarchos were probably analogous to those of the βασιλεὺς ἀρχων at Athens and the βασιλεὺς at Megara and elsewhere. On all these magistrates some of the dignity of the ancient βασιλεὺς probably devolved.

ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Here line 10 begins the second deed of enfranchisement executed under the same Stephanephoros, on the seventh day of the month Panamos.

τοῖς ἐπὶ Ποσειδῶ. Here we must supply Μοναρχίαις, of which the Μ preceding Πανήμιον may be the abbreviation, though I should prefer to read it μ(ηνές) as in line 3.

C. T. NEWTON.

Γ ΟΙΤΕ ΚΑΘΕΟΚΟΝΣΙΘ
 ΟΥΑΕΙΕΓΟΤΑΡΘΕΙ ΑΙ
 ΑΤΙΑΣ ΚΑΔΑΔΩΜΚΣΡΠΟΤ
 ΟΤΙΑΔΙΚΟΣ ΕΔΟΙΚΡΙΠΟ
 ΡΩΜΑΟΤΙΘΕΔΙΑΙΔ
 ΓΟΛΕΠΟΠΟΙΑΡΟΙΔΑΜ
 ΑΠΥΡΕΕΟΙ ΚΡΠΟΜΑ
 ΕΙΕΤΟΙΣΥΡΕΜΑΤΟΙΣ
 ΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΥΡΑΔΙΚΙΟΥΤΙ
 ΣΑΥΤΟ
 ΣΕΑΥΤΟΙΚΑΝΔΕΜΠΟΙΣΟΤΙ
 ΑΙΔΑΙΝΟΤΔΙΑΠΟΙΟΙΤΟΘ
 ΝΟΙΚΑΤΑΦΕΚΑΣΤΟΝΘΕΟΤΜΟΝ
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 ΟΙΚΕΝΤΔΙΑΟΙΚΙΓΡΑΙΣΕΜΕΝΟΙΣ
 ΙΣΑΥΤΟ

ΚΑ
 ΚΑΘΕΑΡΟΣΗΕΑΙΔΕΒΕΝΕΟΙΕΝΤΙΑΡΟΙΒΟΙΚΑΘΟΑΔΟΙΚΑΙΚΟΘΑΡΣΙΤΕΡΕΙΑΚΑΙΤΟΝΘΕΑΡΟΝΕΝΤ
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 ΕΔΙΚΑΔΟΣΑΤΟΝΔΕΚΑ(ΡΑΦΕΟΝΟΤΙΔΟΚΕΟΙΚΑΙΤΕΡΟΣΕΥΕΝΓΟΤΟΝΘΠΟΝΕΧΑΡΕΟΝΚΑΤΕ
 ΛΓΟΙΟΝΣΥΝΒΟΡΑΙΕΝΤΑΚΑΤΙΟΝΑΡΑΝΕΟΣΚΑΙΔΑΔΟΙΓΡΕΦΟΝΤΙΔΙΝΑΚΟΙΚΟΙΔΕΚΑΓΝΤΡΙΤ
 ΟΛΑΙΤΙΕΝΓΟΙΟΙΑΙΤΕΧΑΡΕΟΙ

ON TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM OLYMPIA.

IN a paper read at the *R. Accademia dei Lincei* in Rome I communicated the result of my studies upon three of the bronze inscriptions (Nos. 362, 56, 363) found at Olympia, and published in the *Archäologische Zeitung*.¹ Amongst other inscriptions from the same place recently published in the last number of the same periodical there are two (Nos. 382, 383) deserving the same attention, and demanding it all the more since Professor Kirchhoff in giving them to the public has declared himself unable to divine their meaning. Here I submit to the judgment of the readers of this journal my contribution to the question. My studies are only founded on the facsimile taken from a rubbing and published in the *Archäologische Zeitung*, together with Dr. Purgold's account of the material condition of the two monuments. I have thought it necessary to give my readers a phototypic copy of the facsimile itself, reduced to smaller proportions. Further particulars will be found in the *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1881, pp. 78 seq.

No. 382.

In opposition to Dr. Purgold's opinion, Professor Kirchhoff maintains that this inscription, besides being mutilated at its upper end, has even lost letters both on the right and left sides of the lines. This is an error, as clearly appears from the reading of the text; the inscription is really fragmentary only at its upper end. I suppose it was this initial error

¹ *Iscrizioni greche di Olimpia e di Ithaka*. Roma, 1881.

that misled Professor Kirchhoff so far as to suggest to him the following quite unintelligible reading :—

... τοῖ ζέ κα θεοκόλοι θ ε αὐτοῖ καὶ χρημ(ά)τοις, ὃ τι [αὐτ]ῷ γὰ εἴη ποτ' ἀλάθειαν. αἱ δ' ἀ(λ)λότρια ποιοῦτο (πε)ν(τ)ακατίας κα δαρχμ(ά)ς ἀποτίνοι κατὰ Φέκαστου θεθ(τ)μόν, ὃ τι ἀδίκως ἔχοι καὶ πο(ι)οῦτο ἀδίκως γὰ. γινῶμα δέ κ' εἴη τῆάρωμα. ὃ τι δε διαια δίφνια τὸ δίκαιον τόδε κα θεοκόλος ἐποποι-άλοι δαμιωργία τὸν δᾶ[μ]ο[ν] ἀποφηλέοι κ' ἀπὸ μαντείας τοῖ δὲ νιεαιογοιθοδας κ' εἴη τοῖς χρημάτοις· οἰγενιδιαοικιλικαις ἢ μήλοισ καὶ τοῖς ὑπαδυγίοις τοῖς αὐτῷ.

My reading is as follows :—

τῷ ζε κα θεοκόλφ θ[ώρα]ς(?), ἐαυτῷ καὶ χρημ(ά)τοις, ὅτι [κ' αὐτ]ῷ γὰ εἴη ποτ' ἀλάθειαν. αἱ δ' ἀ(λ)λότρια ποιοῦτο, (πε)ν(τ)ακατίας κα δαρχμ(ά)ς ἀποτίνοι κατὰ Φέκαστου θέθ(μι)ον ὃ τι ἀδίκως ἔχοι, καὶ πωλοῦτο ἄδικος γὰ. γινῶμα δέ κ' εἴη τῆαρομά(ν)-τιορ. (αἱ δὲ) δίφνια τὸ δίκαιον τίδε κα θεοκόλος ἐπ(ι)π(οι)οῖ ἄλ(λ)φ, δαμιωργία τὸνδ' ἄλ[λ]ο(ν) ἀποφη(λ)έοι κ' ἀπὸ μαντείας, τῷ δ' ἐν(ν)έα (τ)όκοι θώρας κ' εἴη τοῖς χρημάτοις (τ)οῖς ἐν τ(ᾷ) οἰκί(α) καὶ σεμέλοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπαδυγίοις τοῖς αὐτῷ.

The inscription is full of gross mistakes, not even always to be accounted for by the similarity of letters :—

Line 1. ΧΡΕΜΑΤΟΙΣ for ΧΡΕΜΑΤΟΙΣ.

Line 3. ΑΙΛΟΤΡΙΑ for ΑΛΟΤΡΙΑ, a most frequent writing in these inscriptions; the superfluous Ι is not written instead of Λ, but is simply due to a confusion with the foregoing ΑΙ. At the end of the line we remark ΝΙΑΚ for ΝΤΑΚ preceded by two strange signs taking the place of ΠΕ. I conjecture that ΕΠ had been written by mistake, and these signs are the result of a rude attempt to correct the error. A similar correction is found in inscription 389, line 8, where the sign Δ is an Α which had been wrongly written as Δ.

Line 3. ΔΑΡΧΜΚΣ for ΔΑΡΧΜΑΣ; the form δαρχμάς is already known as belonging to this and other dialects. See inscription 56. ΘΕΘΤΜΟΝ. Instead of the well-known Doric form τεθμός we have θεθμόν, followed by ὃ τι, and with a peculiar meaning, while in inscription No. 363 we remark with some surprise and incredulity the Ionic-Attic form (θ)εσμός. The form θεθμός is already known from an inscription at Tegea¹; but here the neuter pronoun shows that in the certainly erroneous

¹ κατὸ θεθμόν. Ap. Cauer, *Delectus*, No. 2.

writing **ΘΕΘΤΜΟΝ** we must recognise the form *θέθμιον*, representing the more usual *τέθμιον*, and already known from the Locrian inscription of Naupaktos.¹ **Τ** is wrongly written instead of **Ι**, and **ΙΜ** instead of **ΜΙ**: as we soon shall see, transposition of letters is not infrequent in these inscriptions.

Line 4. **ΠΟΛΟΙΤΟ** is right as it stands, and not to be corrected into **ΠΟΙΟΙΤΟ**, as Kirchhoff has done. **ΓΑ** here, as well as in line 2, is not the equivalent of *γε*, as Kirchhoff seems to think, but of *γη*, and must be read *γα*.

Lines 4, 5. **ΤΙΑΡΟΜΑΟΤΙΟΡ** for **ΤΙΑΡΟΜΑΝΤΙΟΡ**.

Line 5. **ΕΔΙΑΙΑ** for **ΑΙΔΕ**. Here we find the same kind of error as I have mentioned above and already noticed in inscription No. 56, namely transposition of letters, a fact leading me to the supposition that we have before us ancient copies of more ancient laws, originally written *βουστροφηδόν*. Just as we found there **ΙΑΔΕ** instead of **ΑΙΔΕ**, and **ΤΙΑΠΑΤΡΙΑ** instead of **ΤΑΙΠΑΤΡΑΙ**, so we see here a transposition of four letters in *βουστροφηδόν* fashion, **ΕΔΙΑ** for **ΑΙΔΕ**, the error being increased by the repetition of the two last letters **ΙΑ**. So, too, in the following inscription we shall find **ΕΒΕΝΕΟΙ** for **ΕΝΕΒΟΙ** and **ΔΙΝΑΚΟΙΚΟΙ** for **ΔΙΑΝΙΚΟΙ**.

Line 6. **ΕΠΟΠΟΙ** is evidently a wrong writing, to be classed together with the similar ones which have been found in inscription No. 362, in the verb *ποιέω* and its compounds.² The verb here is *ἐπιποιέω*, as we see from inscription No. 362, where we find the same phrase *ἐπιποιεῖν τὰ δίκαια*. As to the form, it might be *ἐπιποέοι* if compared with the *ἐπιποεόντων* of inscription No. 362; but if we remember the preceding **ΠΟΙΟΙΤΟ** of our inscription, we must conclude it was *ἐπιποιοῖ*. Here the similarity of sound will easily account both for the error and the omission.

— **ΑΛΟΙ** for **ΑΛΛΟΙ**, a rather common mode of writing in these inscriptions; thus in inscription No. 303, line 2, we find **ΑΛΟ** for **ΑΛΛΟ**, and in the Elean inscription of *G. I. Gr.* No. 11, we have **ΑΛΑΛΟΙΣ** for **ΑΛΛΑΛΟΙΣ**, and even **ΑΛ** for **ΑΛΛΑ**. At the end of the line we read again **ΑΛΟΙ**, but as Dr. Purgold says that the last letter is not certain, what was really written was probably **ΑΛΟΝ**, for **ΑΛΛΟΝ**, as the sense

¹ κατὰ θέθμιον. Ap. Caer, *Delectus*, No. 91 b, 21.

² See *Iscrizioni greche di Olimpia*, p. 8 (ἐπειποι, ἐπειπετω, ἐποι).

requires. As for the blank space, we see something very similar in inscription No. 223. There is no interruption in the text; what is written in this and the following lines forms a perfectly regular and intelligible sentence; nothing is wanted. We may suppose that the blank was the end of a line in the original, and that for some reason the engraver thought another section of the text was beginning, and so began a new line in the copy. Facts of this kind (if there is any need to explain them in these ancient inscriptions) are easy to be accounted for in copies; they are frequent in the ancient papyri also, especially in those of Herculaneum.

Line 7. ΑΠΟΦΕΕΕΟΙ had been written for ΑΠΟΦΕΛΕΟΙ, and the error is corrected; compare inscription No. 363, ἀπὸ τῶ βωμῶ ἀποφηλέοιάν κα, and inscription No. 303, κ' ἀπὸ τῶ βωμῶ ἀποφη[λε . .

— ΕΝΙΕΑ can hardly be considered as a dialectic form of ἐννέα; it is, in my opinion, a mere error, consisting perhaps in the Ι standing for an unfinished Ν, or rather in a transposition ἐνιέα for εἰνέα; compare Homer's εἴνατος, Herodotus' εἰνακόσια, and in inscription No. 56, ἐπέμβοι for ἐπέμβοι.

Line 8. ΙΟΙΚΕΝΤΔΙΑΟΙΚΙΑΙ for ΤΟΙΣΕΝΤΑΙΟΙΚΙΑΙ, where we see an erroneous repetition of the Α in ΤΑΙΑ, since the letter Δ is only an incomplete Α, and cannot be a δ, which letter (as well as Ρ) in our inscription has always the form Δ. The reading ΙΔΙΑ[Ι], supposing the omission of Ι, is excluded by this fact. Equally incomplete are the Τ and Σ in ΤΟΙΣ. In ΟΙΚΙΑΙ we see the same erroneous substitution of Λ for Α, as in the first line in ΧΡΕΜΑΤΟΙΣ. The expression itself is perfectly right and very ancient; compare Hesiod, *Op.* 405, χρήματα δ' ἐν οἴκῳ πάντ' ἄρμενα ποιήσασθαι.

The meaning of the brachylogic expression ἀλλότρια ποιόυτο is rendered perfectly clear by the preceding words and by the already well-known sense of ποιόυμαι. The preceding conditional clause beginning with ὅτι wants a κα (κ') in the lacuna, and there is room for it; the same conditional use of ὅτι is found in the Locrian inscription of Naupaktos (2, 15), ὅτι κα μὴ ἀμφοτάροις δοκέη.

The word θέθμιον is to be noted for the peculiar meaning it seems to have in this place. It reminds one of Demeter Thesmophoros and of the most ancient meaning of θεσμός, originally

referring to the legal division and possession of landed property. It may be a matter of doubt whether *θέθμιον* means here a certain legally determined portion of land, as would be the case with the expression *constitutio agri* or *vineae* in the Latin *grammatici*, or rather the legal document or title on which the owner's claims to the property are founded. I think this last is the real meaning in our case; at any rate it is the nearest to the common acceptation of the word. Ἐχειν has not its transitive, but its intransitive meaning here, as also in the καλιτέρως ἔχην of the following inscription.

The task of judging whether the possession of the land claimed by the θεοκόλος is legal and real, and of sentencing him to the fine, if not, is given to the *ιαρόμαντις* (γνώμα δέ κ' εἴη *τιαρομάντιορ*). I think that the compound has the same meaning as the simple *μάντις* in other inscriptions. In inscription No. 363, which I have recently discussed, the *μάντις* are entrusted with the duty of excluding from the temple those who violate a certain compact of friendship. All the *μάντις* being attached to the *ιερόν* and connected with the *ιερά*, each of them was of course a *ιερόμαντις*; and it can hardly be supposed that there was one particular *μάντις* who could be distinguished by that title from the others. On the other hand the Olympian *μάντις* are always mentioned in the plural by Pausanias, as well as in the ancient Elean inscriptions, and in the later ones containing the list of the persons attending the Διὸς *ιερά*. I think then that the meaning of *ιαρόμαντις* in this place is a collective one; very likely the duty is not assigned to one *μάντις* in particular, but to the whole council of the *μάντις*, this council being designated by the name *ιαρόμαντις*. I have already made elsewhere some remarks on the use of these collective nouns in this dialect.¹ A fact of the same kind is met with in inscription No. 362, where the singular Ἑλληνοζίκας would seem to refer to the whole council of the Ἑλληνοζίκαί.

In the expression ἐν(ν)έα τόκοι ΘΟΡΑΣ, line 7, the word ΘΟΡΑΣ cannot possibly have a suitable meaning as it stands. The nearest word for the sense required would be *χώρας* or *φορᾶς*. The last could scarcely give an intelligible meaning when preceded by *τόκοι*; *χώρας* would suit much better; the

¹ *Inscriptioni graecae di Olympica*, p. 7.

meaning, 'produce of cultivated land,' being at any rate quite intelligible, and in full accordance with the context of the whole inscription. Thus we learn that the *θεοκόλος* referred to is entitled to enjoy nine crops from the land here mentioned. As for *ΘΟΡΑΣ* instead of *ΧΟΡΑΣ*, we might easily suppose it to be an error in an inscription such as this is, where errors abound; but it seems to me very likely that the same word written in the same way is to be recognised in the lacuna of the first line, where the restitution *Θ(ΟΡΑ)Σ* may be justified by the fact that it perfectly fits the space, and that what follows there, *ἐαυτῷ καὶ χρημάτοις*, finds its counterpart in the similar expression we have here. The substitution of one aspirate for another, is a fact which has been considered as belonging to the Aeolic dialect, and it is not unheard of in the Doric. In the monuments of these dialects now in existence, this kind of substitution is only represented by a limited number of sporadic facts, not sufficient to establish a rule as characteristic in the dialect. No other instance that I know of can be quoted in this dialect of the change of *χ* into *θ*; the converse change of *θ* into *χ* is exemplified in the well-known *δρνιχα* for *δρνιθα* used by Pindar, as well as in the Aeolic *πλήχω* for *πλήθω*.

I will not venture to guess what was given to the *θεοκόλος* mentioned in the first line; it seems at any rate that it was something in connexion with the *χώρα* (so many *τόκοι* perhaps?), for the use of himself and his household. The expression *ἐαυτῷ καὶ χρημάτοις* is of a pretty common type, and has its parallel in other inscriptions, mostly of *προξενία*, where certain rights are given to a certain person, *to him and to his household*, *αὐτῷ καὶ χρήμασι*.¹ The form *χρημάτοις* is one of the many instances of a well-known fact belonging to this as well as to other dialects.² The same expression is used again at the end of the inscription, but in a new and remarkably enlarged form; *ἐαυτῷ* is left out, and what is commonly understood by the simple word *χρήματα* is explained with all its main particulars, namely *τοῖς χρημάτοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ σεμέλοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπαδνυίοις τοῖς αὐτῷ*. Here *ὑπαδνυίοις* is written correctly, and in accordance with the

¹ Caner, *Deloetus*, Nos. 91, 92, 98, &c. word *ἀγάνοις* in inscription No. 4

² See Kirchhoff's remarks on the (*Arch. Zeit.* 1875, p. 185).

phonetic laws of the dialect, for ὑποζύγιοις. In inscription No. 363, the same word occurs erroneously written ΥΠ-ΑΔΥΚΙΟΙΟΙΣ. But the most remarkable word in the whole inscription is σεμέλοις, which is quite new. It is hardly possible to trace it back to θεμελίοις or θεμέθλοις; no other instance has been found in this dialect of the Spartan σ = θ; and a distinction between οἰκία and θεμέλια is out of place in the passage. On the other hand, since the ὑποζύγια are mentioned, it seems most natural to expect that the servants or slaves should be mentioned too. Indeed it is well known that the servants are often included in the meaning of the word χρήματα; but the same may be said of the ὑποζύγια also. My view is that we see here one of the words especially belonging to the dialect, like ἱμάσκω, θαρρήν, μαστραία, and others revealed by these inscriptions; and that σεμέλος means a *slave*, and corresponds to the Latin *famulus*. The Latin word has been already considered (Curtius, *Gr. Etym.*) as belonging to the same family of words to which the Greek θέμεθλον, θεμέλιον belong. How far this is true I will not discuss here; at all events this new Elean word σεμέλος will prove a remarkable acquisition for the question. But what is more remarkable is that, besides the Latin *famulus* and the Elean σεμέλος, we have another word of the same kind in the Phrygian ζέμελεν, registered by Hesychius with the meaning βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον. The meaning answers so exactly to what is expected in our inscription, and the similarity of the two words is so great, that we must consider σεμέλος (σεμέλον ?) as the Elean form of the same word the Phrygian form of which was, according to Hesychius, ζέμελεν. The coincidence is very easy to explain, since we all know that a large proportion of the slaves sold in the Greek market were Phrygians, and that the name Φρύξ was often used as an abusive equivalent of *slave*. One of the inscriptions found at Olympia gives us some instances of the exotic names borne by slaves in that district.¹ Little attention need be paid to the absence of the article in a dialect like this where we see that the use of the article is far from being in accordance with the common rules of classic Greek. But in our case the language of the inscription might be supported by

¹ Inscription No. 225, τὸν Ἀποσφίγ-
γας (!) γόνον . . . Πιτθα[σ]υνέφα (!)

Ἀγέλα θυγάτηρ, and others. I give
Kirchhoff's reading.

some good instances in classic authorities (See Kühner, *Ausf. Gramm.* II. 528). The notion of a slave being so connected with that of the οἰκία that slaves are commonly called οἰκέται, the sense is the same—as if the words were τοῖς χρημάτοις καὶ σερμέλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ.

We remark the absence of the article in δαμιωργία (line 6), an omission which is not unfrequent in these inscriptions. Inscription 362 has ἡ δαμιωργία, ὁ γρόφευς, but πατριὰν, γενεὰν, Ἑλλανοζίκας, μέγιστον τέλος. It is possible that in ἄδικος γὰ (line 4) the article was left unwritten on account of a crasis; thus in inscription 362 the pronominal ὁ (ὅ) was left out before Ὀλυμπία, and I accordingly read Ὀλυμπία.

The inscription, like most of the same kind, belongs to a period when rhotacism was only sporadically represented in writing. We find it here in only one instance, ἱερομάντιον, just as in inscription No. 363 the only instance is μάντιον. What is new and most important is that we see here the end of the period when Ξ (ξ) was usually written instead of Δ, as it constantly is in inscription No. 362, and the beginning of a new orthography. The new rule has been generally observed in this inscription with only two exceptions, viz., in the first line, where the engraver wrote τοῖζε for τοῖδε and left it uncorrected, and in the fifth, where he began to write Ξ (not Τ, as Purgold says), but perceived his error in time, and finished the letter as a Δ (δίκαιον).

The quantity and quality of the errors in our inscription confirm me in the opinion that we must consider it as an ancient copy of a more ancient inscription, which was written βουστροφηδόν, and with Ξ instead of Δ. I have already remarked that this is the case with inscription No. 56, and I think it is the case with the following one, No. 383, also.

The inscription being only a fragment, and essential parts being wanting, the reconstruction of the whole sense is impossible. Conjecture cannot have any serious value, since we know so very little of the θεοκόλοι, of their duties and rights; and we now see that they are spoken of in connection with landed property, income, and the like, whereas previously we only had some notion of them in connection with sacrifices and hieratic offices. I hope that some light may come from other yet unpublished Olympian inscriptions. Amongst those which have

been already published, a very old one (No. 308), written *βουστροφηδόν*, but unfortunately reduced to a small fragment, presents the word *γά* in close proximity to the word *θεοκόλος*. We read

... ὄρτιρ κα τῷ θεοκόλῳ ...

... Ζὶ Ὀλυνπίῳ γὰ ταρ ...

It may be supposed that besides their hieratic offices, the *θεοκόλοι* were administrators (shall we say tenants?) of the landed property belonging to the temple, and perhaps landowners themselves. The word itself, when compared with the meaning of the Latin *colere*, is rather suggestive of such an idea. At any rate we have here a fragment of a law regulating the relations between the *θεοκόλοι* as to matters of this kind. The law seems to define in what limits and on what conditions a *θεοκόλος* can *ἐπιποιεῖν ἄλλῳ* a certain *δίκαιον* mentioned in the lost part of the inscription; what this *δίκαιον* was or could be we are unable to guess; it looks like a kind of loan for which a certain estate belonging to the receiver should be mortgaged. If it should be shown that the estate did not legally and really belong to him, he was to be sentenced to a fine of 500 drachmae for each title or document which proved irregular or unlawful, and the unjustly possessed land was to be sold. The sentence was to be pronounced by the *ιερόμαντις*, or, possibly, by the council of the *μάντις*. But the *θεοκόλος* was allowed to accept this kind of *δίκαιον* only once, or to a certain extent; if doubled or repeated the receiver was to be punished by exclusion from the *μαντεία*, and the giver was entitled to enjoy nine crops off the land for his own household, servants, and working animals.

No. 383.

This inscription contains a fragment of a law, of which the last lines only are preserved. The law was engraved on several plates of bronze, fixed with nails on the wall; the engraver had already begun to engrave **KA** in the first line on the last plate when he thought fit to leave the space clear for the nails, and transferred the beginning of the line lower down.

Professor Kirchhoff's reading runs as follows:—

.... κα θεαρὸς εἴη. αἱ δὲ βενέοι ἐν τιαροῖ βοῦ κα θούδ(δ)οι
καὶ κοθάρσι τελείαι καὶ τὸν θεαρὸν ἐνταχται. αἱ δὲ τις παρ τὸ

γράφος δικάδ(δ)οι, ἀτελής κ' εἴη ἃ δικά, ἃ δέ κα φράτρα ἃ
 δαμοσία τελεία εἴη δικάδ(δ)ωσα. τῶν δέ κα γραφῶν ὅτι δοκέοι
 καλ(λ)ιτέρως ἔχην ποτ(τ)ὸν θ(ε)ὸν ἐξαγρέων κα(ι) ἐνποιῶν σὺν
 βωλᾶ (π)εντακατίων αὐτῶν καὶ δάμοι πληθύνοντι δινάκοι.
 κοί δέ κα (ἐ)ν τρίτον αὐτὶ ἐνποιῶι αὐτ' ἐξαγρέοι.

This being a thoroughly wrong reading and punctuation, no wonder that no interpretation could be given by Professor Kirchhoff. The inscription must be read as follows:—

. . . . κα θεαρὸς εἴη. αἱ δ' ἐ(νέβ)οι ἐν τῷ τῷ, βοῖ κα θωάδοι
 καὶ κοθάρσι τελεία, καὶ τῶν θεαρῶν ἐντάχ(θ)αι. αἱ δέ τις παρ
 τὸ γράφος δικάδοι, ἀτελής κ' εἴη ἃ δικά. ἃ δέ κα φράτρα ἃ δαμοσία
 τελεία εἴη δικάδωσα τῶνδ' κα γραφῶν ὅτι δοκέοι καλιτέρως
 ἔχην ποτ(τ)ὸν θ(ε)ὸν ἐξαγρέ(η)ν κα(ι) ἐνποι(ῇ)ν σὺν βωλᾶ (π)εν-
 τακατίων αὐτῶν καὶ δάμω πληθύνοντι. δι(αυ)τῶ δέ κα π(ᾶ)ν
 τρίτον αὐτὶ ἐνποιῶι αὐτ' ἐξαγρέοι.

In my discussion of inscription No. 56, I remarked the curious forms *επειμβοι*, *ενεβε[τ]ω*, *εβοι*, and explained the two last as errors for *ἐπεμβέτω*, *ἐπέμβοι*. Here we find *εβενεοι ἐν τῷ τῷ*, corresponding to what we read there *ἐπέμβοι ἐν τῷ τῷ* according to my supplement, which is now confirmed, with the only difference that we now have a dative, which is rather odd, since in another Elean inscription (No. 4) we find *ἐν τῷ τῷ*. From a comparison with inscription No. 56, it is evident that in our *εβενεοι* we must recognise a transposition of letters such as we have already found in Nos. 56 and 382, and read *ἐνέβοι*. **BENE** was written instead of **ENEB**. As we know that even in this dialect there is no such form as *βέοι*, we must suppose that the superfluous **E** was considered by the writer as belonging to *δέ*. The consequence seems to be that *ἐνέβοι* is the optative of a verb whose imperative is *ἐνεβέ[τ]ω*, and that this last need not be corrected into *ἐπεμβέ[τ]ω*, as I did; and moreover that *εβοι* only wants to be completed with the preposition required for its meaning in that place, and we must read there as here *[ἐν]έβοι*. All this, if correct, would lead us to admit that the verb *βῶ* was commonly used with a prothetic *ε* in the dialect; and if so we must consider *ἐπειμβοι* as an error instead of *ἐπε(νέ)βοι*, which is not unlikely, since both the **I** and the **M** are very far from being unquestionable. From the many compounds with *ἐν* in these inscriptions this would be the only instance of

ειν substituted for εν; and as to the **M** preceding the labial, though organically regular, it is by no means regular in these inscriptions, where **N** is commonly used in such cases. If we exclude the hypothesis of a prothetic ε, one might assume a case of *svarabhakti*, or epenthesis, which is exemplified in this dialect in inscription No. 306, where we read *μανασίως* for *μνασίως*, *Σαλαμώναι* for *Σαλμώναι* (compare G. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.* 92), but it may be objected that this never occurs with the verb *ἐνποιέω*, which is frequently found in these inscriptions.

ΘΟΑΔΟΙ. Since the usual meaning of the verb *θαάζω* cannot be adapted to this place, I think we must assume a verb *θαάζω*, hitherto unknown, as is the case with other words in these inscriptions, but regular in form and clear in its etymology, and giving a very appropriate meaning. I trace it back to *θωή*, *punishment, expiation*. The word *θώια* is used in a remarkable old Locrian inscription, *διπλῇ φοι θώι' ἔστω*. But the form *θωή* is the origin of our verb *θαάζω*, which is here employed in connexion with the mention of a sacrifice. It is perhaps not irrelevant to note the gloss of Kyrillos, *θή δὲ λέγεται ἡ θυσία*, where perhaps *θωή* may be recognised with the meaning of an expiatory sacrifice. At any rate here *θαάζω* evidently has the intransitive sense of *to atone*, as is clear from the fact that not only the sacrifice of an ox, but even a *κάθαρσις τελεία*, is emphatically required. *Κοθάρσι* for *καθάρσει* is a regular dialectic form; see Meister, in Curtius, *Studien*, iv. 373, 385.

ENTAXTAI stands here for *ἐντετάχθαι*, and with the same value as the imperative *ἐντετάχθω*. The absence of the reduplication may be considered as an omission of the engraver, who in passing from one line to the other left out two letters, **ET**; but it may also be explained as a dialectic fact, another instance of which recurs, as I think, in inscription No. 306, where *συνθέν* stands for *συντεθέν*.¹ Some instances of the same fact

¹ Kirchhoff's reading and punctuation of this inscription are evidently wrong in some parts. I take the opportunity of communicating my own reading: *Συνθέν Α[ι]θέρων[α τῶ] Αἰχμανορι παρ τῶρ γᾶρ τῶρ ἐν Σαλαμώνᾳ πλέθρων ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα φάρην κριθᾶν μανασίως δύο καὶ ἑκατὶ ἀλφιομένωρ. αἱ δὲ λίποι,*

λυσάσω τῷ διφύλῳ. πεπδάσω τὸν πάντα χρόνον. There is an erroneous repetition of **IO** in **ΑΑΦΙΟΙΟΜΕΝΩΡ**. Nobody will be astonished at the participle being constructed with reference to the measure rather than to the barley; facts of this kind are frequent in every spoken and vulgar language; it is

(very common in modern Greek, and not infrequent, it seems, in the ancient *spoken* dialects) were already known; see G. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.* 547. As for *ται* instead of *θαι*, there are instances of verbal forms in the dialect where *θ* is substituted for *τ*, as in the above-mentioned inscription, No. 306, we find *λυσάστω*, *πεπάστω*, and in inscription No. 313 *τιμώστων*, but in our case it can only be considered as an error, since we find *χ* before it, while the original *κ* ought to have remained, if really such a sound as is represented by *τ* had followed, more especially as we know what *ψιλωταί* the Eleans were. The verb *ἐντάσσω* is here constructed with a genitive, just as the simple *τάσσω*, and as *ἐνποιέω* (*τῶνδε γραφέων*) in the next lines: the meaning is that the offender, after performing the expiatory ceremony, may take his seat in the temple amongst the *thearoi*.

The comparative adverb *καλιτέρως* is far from the common use, but this is not more astonishing in a dialect than the Homeric *κακώτερος*, &c. Perhaps the single *λ* is right here. *καλι* shows, in my opinion, that the usual form *καλλίων* (*καλίων*) existed in the dialect; it is just possible that the other termination was only used for the adverb.

ΘΠΟΝ is evidently an error. I perfectly agree with Professor Kirchhoff in the very probable restitution *θ(ε)όν*. Here **Π** has been written instead of **Ε**, while in the following line we find the converse error **Ε** instead of **Π** (*πεντακατίων*). We have already noticed that rudely corrected errors of the same kind may be detected in the preceding inscription, line 2, in the two strange signs representing the **ΠΕ**.

To put a point after *δικάδωσα*, as Professor Kirchhoff does, is to destroy utterly every vestige of meaning in the sentence.

even a rather frequent and well-known usage with Greek and Latin poets. The verb *ἀλφιδώ* corresponds to what in the Attic dialect would be *ἀλφιδόω* (comp. *διαλφιδόω* in Aristoph. *Νεόκ.*), and is based on the known shortened form *ἄλφι* for *ἀλφιδον*. The compact is that Aichmanor cedes to Aitheron the perpetual possession of a land placed in Salmone, of the extent of 18 plethra, on condition that from its produce Aitheron shall pay yearly (*φάρην*, viz. *φέρειν*) to Aichmanor 22

measures (*μανθίσιας* = *μανσίως*) of barley already reduced to *ἄλφιδον*. If he fails to do that, he must redeem himself (from the right the law gives to the creditor on his person) by paying double. There can be no doubt on the reading **ΣΥΝΘΕΝ**, the letters being perfectly clear and preserved; the participle is perfectly in accordance with the infinitive *φάρην*; but then its meaning must be 'it has been agreed that,' &c., namely the meaning of *συνηθεύειν*.

The same may be said of reading, as the same scholar does *ἐξαγρέων, ἐνποιών*, which is absolutely impossible, the infinitive being strictly required by the sense. It is evident that **ΕΞΑΓΡΕΟΝ, ΕΝΠΟΙΟΝ** is an erroneous writing due perhaps to the local or personal pronunciation of the long *η* sound in these verbal terminations; however it may be, the restitution of *ἐξαγρέην, ἐνποιήν* is beyond doubt, these being the regular forms in the dialect. The case of additions or suppressions to be made by competent authority in a law, convention, &c., is contemplated in other inscriptions; see *C. I. Gr.* No. 2556, *sub fine*; in inscription No. 2557 of the same collection we read: *ἐὰν δέ τι φαίνεται ὑμῖν προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν, εὐχαριστώμες*; comp. Vischer in *Rhein. Museum*, xxvi. (1871), p. 71.

ΑΦΛΑΝΕΟΣ is a word unknown to myself as well as to Professor Kirchhoff. We should hardly expect an adverb here; the form in my opinion can only be that of a genitive, and the word itself the name of a month, which we must add to the very few names already known in the Elean calendar. Perhaps it was the month when a general meeting of the council and assembly took place, more especially consecrated to the discussion or revision of former laws. A similar definition we find in the well-known inscription of Dreros:—*ἐς τὰν βωλὰν τοῦ Κομνοκαρίου ἢ τοῦ Ἀλιαίου*.¹ Without the mention of the month or of the 500 we find *βωλὰν καὶ δάμον πλαθύοντα* (not *πληθύοντα* as here) in inscription No. 223.

ΔΙΝΑΚΟΙΚΟΙ. The most evident error here is the repetition of the letters **KOI**; but there is more than that. It is scarcely necessary to prove that the existence of such a verb as *δινάκω* cannot easily be admitted, both on account of its radical element, whose known meaning would be quite impossible here, and of its form, which at least ought to be *-σκω*. The subject here is the voting: how many votes are required for a proposal to prevail; and we see that one-third of the votes is required in order that the *φράτρα* on that subject could be *τελεία*. A similar expression is used to secure the same object at the end of the already-mentioned Locrian inscription, skilfully illustrated by Professor Kirchhoff² *πληθὺν δὲ νικῆν*. This leads us to discover in **ΔΙΝΑΚΟΙ** one of those transpositions of letters we

¹ Hermann in *Philologus*, ix. 173.

² *Philolog.* xiii. 1. *σηρ.*

have already found so often in these inscriptions. ΔΙΝΑΚΟΙ is written instead of ΔΙΑΝΙΚΟΙ, with the omission of one Ι, which can be easily explained—the complete transposition of three letters would have given us ΔΙΙΝΑΚΟΙ, and it seems that one of the Ι's was left out. A more complicated transposition, but with no letter left out, would give ΝΙΚΑΔΟΙ, in regard to which I may say that the existence of a verb νικάζω in the dialect is perfectly possible.

Again we see an error in ΠΝ. Professor Kirchhoff's restitution ΕΝ may be supported by the above instance of ΘΠΟΝ for ΘΕΟΝ. But in our case ἐν can hardly be the equivalent of ἐς, as Kirchhoff thinks, the meaning of ἐς τρίτον not being adaptable to this place; nor can it be supposed that ΕΝ is the numeral ἐν, as we should rather expect τὸ τρίτον, viz. μέρος τῶν ψήφων, which is what an Athenian would have said. I think the error consists in the omission of a letter, and that we must read π[ἀ]ν, which word may very well find a place here, since the number of persons attending each meeting and constituting the δᾶμον πληθύνοντα was of course very variable.

These lines give us the end of the last article of a law which contained several articles; this may be inferred from the mention of τὸ γράφος referring to this particular article, and of τῶνδε γραφῶν referring to the whole. If Professor Kirchhoff's restitution θ(ε)όν is right, as I think it is, we may conjecture from the expression καλιτέρως ἔχην πο(τ)τὸν θεόν that the object of the law was to protect the reverence due to the god and to his temple. In inscription No. 56, we have already an instance of ancient regulations concerning the visitors to the temple. Here we see that the case of some offence is contemplated, but we cannot determine either the nature of the offence itself, or the class of persons to which the offender was supposed to belong. No. 56 refers to foreigners, perhaps to non-Greeks. Judging from this analogy, and from the mention of *thearoi* in our inscription, we may perhaps surmise that the offenders in question were strangers, possibly the very *thearoi* themselves, more especially if we are at liberty to suppose that originally κα θεαρὸς εἶη was preceded by ὅστις. A special punishment, it would seem, is decreed when the offender is a *thearos*; and the law goes on to say that 'should this man enter the temple,

he is to atone with the sacrifice of an ox and with a full performance of the purifying ceremony; then he may take his seat amongst the *thearoi*. Any judgment not following what is here prescribed must be considered as having no executive authority.' It seems rather strange that no punishment is inflicted on the judge who neglects the observance of the law; but the meaning seems to be merely this, that no authority is to alter this prescription, with the exception of the body to which this power is expressly given in the concluding article, which says that 'A full executive power is given to the *φράτρα* or decree of the high representatives of the nation (*δαμοσία*), namely of the council of the 500, in its session of the month *Ἀφλανεύς*, and of a full meeting of the popular assembly (*δάμῳ πληθύνοντι*), whenever they proceed to a revision of the law (*τῶνδε γραφέων*), to suppress some of the articles or to insert additional ones, as it shall be judged most decorous for the god. But for amendments of any kind, one-third of the votes is required for their acceptance to give them the authority of laws.'

D. COMPARETTI.

THE BATTLE OF MARATHON: 490 B.C.

'Quâ pugnâ nihil adhuc est nobilius.'—C. NEPOS.

MILITARY history proper must begin with the battle of Marathon; it is the first battle of which history preserves for us even a moderately detailed account in respect of the relative numbers and equipments of the contending armies, the precise situation and local peculiarities of the conflict, the positions of the armies before the battle, the circumstances of the actual collision, and the decisiveness of the result. There are uncertainties as to the maps which should illustrate the far later battles of Pharsalus and Philippi, that determined the fate of the empire of the world, but we have a perfectly satisfactory ground-plan, from the country as it still exists, of the first great collision of Hellenic and Asiatic power on the western coast of the Aegean. Herodotus, to whom we are chiefly indebted for an account of it, was not a contemporary, having been born about six years later, 484 B.C. His account, no doubt, is meagre where information would be most valuable, and he is anything but a skilful military critic, and, like many others of the most successful historians, he neglects details that might be dry to make room for others not rigidly authenticated that are pointed and picturesque. Still, even so he supplies us with many circumstances which he might value simply for the sake of sparkle, but that enable us by comparison with other stray notices to divine some very critical facts about the battle, which he himself either did not fully know, or, not duly appreciating, failed to set down. If after study of all subsidiary information duly compared and combined it seems possible to recover a very fairly authentic account of the battle, it will be no doubt

at the cost of some reduction of what is most marvellous in the account of Herodotus; but the story will still be sufficiently romantic, no moderate remainder of marvel will be left, and there is full compensation for the sacrifice in certified credibility and historical instruction.

The overthrow of the Lydian monarchy by Cyrus (546 B.C.) brought the Hellenic cities of Asia under Persian control; and after the conquests of Cambyses Persia became a maritime power. The revolt of the Ionian Greeks was finally quelled by a naval victory; the chief islands of the Archipelago were subdued. In anticipation of a Persian invasion of Macedonia, which took place the next year (492 B.C.), Miltiades left the Chersonnesus on the Hellespont, where he had ruled with independence, in succession to progenitors, and retired to Athens. Athens had given direct provocation to Persia by supporting the Ionian rebellion and burning Sardis; but the ruling aggressive impulse alone would sufficiently account for the resolution of Darius to clear his frontier by the subjugation of the presumptuous Athenians and Lacedaemonians. Hellenic refugees were never wanting at his court to encourage such an enterprise by intrigue and information; and now Hippias, the expelled Athenian tyrant, the son of Pisistratus, was particularly active. In consequence, within four years after the suppression of the Ionian revolt (490 B.C.), the Persian generals Datis and Artaphernes in full command of the sea, passed over to Europe with a large army. They first wreaked severe vengeance upon Eretria in Euboea, and then proceeded to cross the straits to Europe to deal like measure to the Athenians. It was now twenty years since the tyrants had been driven out of Athens, and the democratic constitution which owed much to Solon had been importantly settled and consolidated by the corrective legislation of Cleisthenes. Within that period Athens had already done much to vindicate the change by those advances which draw forth the reflection of Herodotus—that surely political freedom, which could so transform a state from insignificance to dignity, is a truly energetic power. Besides the self-reliance that was born of a successful and prosperous revolution, the energy of the democracy was braced by the consciousness that the expelled tyrant was still hopeful of a reaction such as his father had profited by before, and that the city contained

a party dangerously enterprising, which was held in check indeed, but would willingly seize an opportunity to help a counter-revolution. The catastrophe of Eretria brought the warning home. Athenian cleruchs, or settlers, whose assistance had been proffered, received notice from a leading Eretrian that dissension was certain to be fatal to his city, and they withdrew in time across the straits to Oropus. The Persians expected to be opposed in the open field, and putting in at some ports to the south, disembarked the horses—the cavalry, which they had brought over in vessels specially constructed. The Eretrians, however, in opposition to the advice of some who urged retirement to the mountains, kept their walls, and bravely repulsed attacks for six days. Then two of the more distinguished citizens betrayed the place to the Persians, who plundered and burnt the temples, and reduced the inhabitants to slavery. The lesson was well read by the Athenians. When they heard that the enemy was passing over to the plain of Marathon, they resolved to make at least the first resistance in the field. By this policy they postponed certainly, and might perhaps escape, the great danger of the presence of the hostile force before the walls encouraging a rising of the malcontents, or treasonable admission of the enemy within their defences.

Two roads led from the plain of Marathon to Athens; the best and easiest, some twenty-six miles long—a march of between six and seven hours only—followed the coast-line south, to turn inland over the lower slopes of Mount Pentelicus. This was the route which had been successfully pursued by Pisistratus, the father of Hippias, when he regained the tyranny which he kept till death (Herod. i. 62). The other road to the north shorter by four miles, but scarcely carriageable, passed over higher ground and the more difficult mountainous district. The Athenian force was promptly thrown forward beyond the passes, so as to occupy ground which by height, aspect, and other circumstances was peculiarly defensible. Various notices imply that the neighbourhood of Marathon was thickly wooded; the epitaph of Aeschylus mentions 'the grove of Marathon'; and both Seneca in *Hippolytus* (17) and Nonnus (xiii. 189) may be trusted as merely repeating long descended poetical tradition (καὶ τέμενος βαθύδενδρον ἐλαιοκόμου Μαραθῶνος: and 'Vos qua Marathon tramite laevo Saltus aperit'). These

obstructions were decidedly in favour of the smaller force, which, arriving early, was enabled to take ground with good communications and a line of retreat open behind, and every facility for undertaking the defence of whichever pass might be attempted. We shall probably be correct in following Cornelius Nepos here, who assigns the adoption of this movement to the suggestion and influence of Miltiades (Clemens Alexandrinus, i. 29, 162, has no doubt that he got his hint from Moses), after active discussion in the popular assembly. Here, at the temenos of the Marathonian Heracles, they were joined by the entire power, some thousand hoplites, of the allied city of Plataea, otherwise the Athenians stood alone; and this aid is variously stated as raising their total muster to 9,000 or 10,000 men. The application to Lacedaemon for help—the help, in fact, of the main power of Peloponnesus—had brought a promise of assistance at the full of the moon, but not before; from scruples of custom or religion the reply being given on the ninth of the month. Unless, as is quite possible, the sincerity of the Spartans might be doubtful, there was a great temptation to delay ten days for so important a reinforcement. That the temptation was resisted is characteristic of the vigour and decision to which victory was due at last. Yet in some important respects the military maxims in vogue at Athens were as much bound to tradition as those of Lacedaemon. The chief command was given to ten generals in their rotation on successive days, and the all-important question of giving battle was committed to the vote. Miltiades was only one of the ten generals, the leaders severally of the ten Cleisthenean tribes, and was in a less important position than Callimachus the polemarch, to whom a casting vote was given; and even he, if we may trust Herodotus, owed his appointment to the chance of the lot. A council of war, it is said, never fights, and when a vote was taken whether a battle was to be risked—the alternative lying between a retirement upon Athens or inaction at least until the promised and so-highly esteemed reinforcement from Peloponnesus should arrive—the votes were evenly divided, and it was only by the casting vote of Callimachus that it was decided to risk the chances of an engagement, and trust, in the words of Justin, rather in celerity of action than in allies.

The polemarch was the archon to whom was committed the

duty of performing annual rites for Harmodius and Aristogiton, the reputed quellers of tyranny (Julius Poll. 8, ix. 91), and this enables us to recognize a pointed reference in the speech which Herodotus makes Miltiades address to him to bring him to his own view;—his memory would be honoured no less than these his proper heroes (Herod. vi. 109). To Miltiades, who secured this decision, the generals who agreed with him also conceded the full command upon their days; if he acted after all only on the day when his own turn came round, we need not doubt that it was because there was no good strategic reason for engaging sooner. We do not even know how near it may not have been when the vote was taken.

Miltiades, then, was in command of a small but highly trained and well armed force of citizens, animated by a spirit of patriotism that was raised to full heat by animosity towards a tyrant and his foreign allies, and by clear apprehension that the fate of the Eretrians, and even worse, would be the consequence of their subjugation. With this force he was called upon to withstand at least, if not to conquer, an army vastly superior in numbers, indeed what might seem overwhelming numbers, which, include as it might an ill-assorted and half-hearted muster of barbarians of various arms and countries, had also a formidable nucleus of veterans accustomed to victory in previous wars in Asia. Herodotus himself, while noticing the inferiority of Persian arms and armour, speaks in high terms of the military qualities of the men themselves (ix. 63).

How many days intervened between the first debarkation of the Persians and the battle, we are not told, and calculations that have been put forward avowedly end in only a guess. No attempt was made to oppose their landing, and when it was seen that the Greek commander strengthened his naturally strong position by felled trees at several points ('multis locis,' C. Nepos), the Persians may have hesitated either to attack him directly or to expose themselves to a flank attack by attempting the coast road.

Among the motives that influenced Hippias in counselling the debarkation on the coast of Marathon, was the suitability of the plain for the operations and movements of cavalry. The line of coast was sheltered by a projecting promontory, and deep water close in gave facility for landing. The plain itself,

in front of an amphitheatre of rocky hills, is six miles long and never less than a mile and a half broad. It might be traversed in two hours by a march along the sea, a torrent that divided it midway giving no obstruction of consequence; a morass at the southern extremity is dry at the end of summer, and it was now about the 12th of September; another much larger, some miles square, was at the northern extremity, and impassable by a multitude—but this would be left in the rear. From the description of Pausanias we judge its condition to have been worse in antiquity than at present. Over the open plain, then, cavalry could career and might be counted upon to harass a heavy armed force like that of the Greeks, or interrupt communications and cover advancing infantry. Datis and Artaphernes had provided horse transports in Asia, and indeed Herodotus tells us that the cavalry had been disembarked in Euboea in anticipation of a battle there in the field. When then we find no mention of cavalry being concerned in the battle of Marathon, and indeed an implication (*χωρίς ἵππων*), however enigmatical, that they were not, the inference is clear that the Persians were attacked before they had power to complete, or while they were in process of completing or entirely changing their proposed arrangements. It is in accordance with the suggestion that they may have contemplated a change of basis, that we do not read of any camp to be either assailed or plundered after the victory, nothing of an abandonment by the defeated of any of that store of rich appointments that the satraps were wont to take with them to warfare. It may be fairly assumed that the celerity of Miltiades had already taken the enemy by surprise, and that Hippias was disappointed in finding that the passes were to be seriously defended; under these circumstances, after the experience at Eretria and the knowledge that at Athens there was quite as unscrupulous a Medizing party, there was manifestly an inducement to divert the attack—to take advantage of the command of the sea, and gain Athens in the absence of its army.

The battle itself then is thus described by Herodotus:—‘The Athenians were arrayed in order of battle, Callimachus the polemarch leading the right wing according to Athenian usage; [his tribe was that of Aiantis, and he would be at its head, *Plut. Sympos.* 1, x. 3] the other tribes followed in order of enumera-

tion ;' the expression of the historian seems to imply that there was a certain established sequence. The Plataeans were posted at the left wing. The front was extended to equal that of the Medes, and this was done at the expense of the centre, where the files were reduced, while those of either wing were strengthened. 'When the array was completed,' says Herodotus, 'and the sacrifices were favourable and the Athenians were sent forward, they advanced against the barbarians at a run,'—the distance between the two armies being not less than eight stadia, that is, more than three quarters of a mile. 'The Persians seeing them coming on at a run, set about preparing to receive them ; and as they saw how, so few in numbers as they were, they were running to the attack unprovided with either cavalry or archers, they ascribed it to fatal insanity.' But as soon as the Athenians came into conflict with the barbarians they fought bravely nevertheless ; 'for they were the first of all the Hellenes as far as we know who charged their enemies at a run, and the first to bear looking upon the Median costume ; for till then the very name of Medes was a terror to the Hellenes. The fighting at Marathon went on some considerable time ; and the barbarians had the better at the centre, where the Persians and Sacae were stationed, and broke their opponents and pursued them towards the country. But the Athenians conquered at one extremity and the Plataeans at the other, and then both wings wheeling about engaged those who had broken their centre ; and the Athenians conquered and followed the flying Persians with slaughter up to the shore, and there they attacked the ships and were calling for fire.' Herodotus seems to be borrowing this last incident from the attack of Hector on the galley of Protesilaus in the *Iliad*. Here Callimachus was killed and another general, and Cynegeirus son of Euphorion—brother he of Aeschylus, who also was among the combatants. In result the Athenians seized seven ships and destroyed 6,400 of their enemies, losing themselves 192 only. A large proportion of the Persian force still succeeded in re-embarking, and their fleet passed over at once to Euboea and put on board the captives, the guarding of whom must have occupied a part of their army. After some delay, however speedily, they sailed round Sunium in response to a signal from traitors in the city, by the elevation of a shield—probably a bright shield, the ancient

helio-telegraph—from a height; they found, however, that the victorious army had had time to return, and was prepared to oppose them, leaving them no course but to go back to Asia. Herodotus is quite certain that the Alcmaeonid relatives of Pericles were accused falsely of exhibiting a signal to the invaders, but he concedes to the accusers that such a signal was really made, and so by implication leaves their party chargeable with it. It may even have been due to the signal being descried that the movement was made which brought on the battle.

Such is the story of the battle as Herodotus relates it, and in which we may be prepared to assume a large alloy of inaccuracy and considerable incompleteness. We discern very plain traces of his notorious love for a little extravagance in what he says of the terror of Greeks at the Median aspect; and after this we may be excused for thinking it possible that he overstrained his authority elsewhere, and that the Athenian heavy-armed men did not start at a run for a charge of near a mile. The true state of the case however is discernible enough if we take the conditions of it into independent consideration. In the first place there was no doubt a motive for quickened advance in the fact that the great strength of the Persians lay in archery, of which the Greek force was destitute, and after it was within bowshot every moment saved was of consequence; on the other hand, when once at close quarters the long stalwart spear and superior body armour, and trained and well-breathed vigour of the hoplite gave him that advantage which Aristagoras had prophetically declared should make him master of the Persian empire (Herod. v. 49). But that Miltiades, who, however eager, had not hastened to engage as soon as the votes had given him the power to do so whenever he liked, was now so seemingly precipitate, was due to a further—to a master motive. It is not to be doubted that he well knew that his main chance of success depended—considering the odds against him—in watching for a favourable opportunity for action, which with his small army he could not attempt to force, and upon seizing it as soon as offered. If when he did attack his advance was made with such rapidity as to be susceptible of exaggeration to an extent to satisfy Herodotus, this is confirmation of his plan in waiting, no less than of his masterly outlook; as opportunities in war—

especially when battle is engaged or to be engaged, are advantages only for those who command a promptitude that is measurable by minutes. It is more difficult to divine with certainty, but not to conjecture with very considerable probability, what may have been the nature of the opportunity offered. We know, as will appear, that the Persian position was close to the northern morass to their right, which might naturally be counted upon by them as a defence upon that side, as it was here that their ships were protected by the curving promontory of Cynosura, which shut in the bay from the north. Their vast numbers must have covered considerable ground, and the probability appears to be that Miltiades waited and watched for the time when movement was in progress, and they would not have time to extricate and to develop their array before he should be upon them. His own position no doubt was well in their view, and his first movement out of his intrenchments must have been visible; and that the Persians were not utterly unprepared is proved by the proper Persian troops and the Sacae occupying their established position in the centre; this however is quite consistent with the entire army of the barbarians occupying an imprudently confined position. So much is indeed implied by it being possible for Miltiades to spread out his small force with any hope of presenting an equal front, which still was an essential of his plan and project of battle. What that plan was is indeed clear upon a little closer consideration than has usually been given to the subject. He was able to count on the discipline of his men and the coolness of their commanders, and we find that he could determine in consequence not merely the direction of the first onset, but how it was to be followed up. He knew that the most formidable strength of the enemy was, according to their custom, certain to be in their centre, but counted on foiling this, not by concentrating his own chief strength against their best troops, but by declining collision with them—in fact by refusing their attack. With this intention, and in just reliance that the commanders there, who were in fact Aristides and probably Themistocles, would duly second it, he could venture to reduce his own centre. Accordingly it appears certain from the small number of his slain that the victorious pursuit by the Persians here was chiefly and at best a driving in of ranks which obeyed instructions in standing on

the defensive, and were prepared to give ground rather than expose themselves to be uselessly crushed. In strengthening his flanks Miltiades hurled his chief power upon those divisions of the enemy which could offer least resistance, and which he foresaw had only to be thrown into confusion to spread confusion from one point to another and involve the whole. He suddenly engaged the Persian multitudinous levies where there was no retreat open for them by land, where the struggle to escape if a panic could only be excited would carry them crowding to the ships, or hurry them as it did in hundreds and thousands into the morass. The valour of the Persians in the centre was unavailing when they were exposed to attack at either flank disengaged from the main body, and at the rear were pressed upon by the terror-stricken crowds that, thrown out of all order and cohesion, were striving to escape from the compact, well-armed, active, and impetuous hoplites.

The terms of Herodotus are such as naturally convey the impression that the armies were drawn out on either side and put in array with all deliberateness. He again says nothing of how importantly the morass contributed to the seriousness of the Persian catastrophe, and therefore while bewildering us with an almost inconceivable achievement of Athenian valour, fails altogether to do justice to the sagacious generalship of Miltiades. But we have a witness on the point who may not lightly be challenged. The battle of Marathon was the subject of one of the chief pictures which gave its name to the Poecile, or painted Stoa at Athens. In this Pausanias recognized the Plataeans along with the Athenians in full conflict with the barbarians. At one end the fight still raged on even terms, further on or in the background, the barbarians were shown in full flight and pushing each other into the marsh; at the other end of the picture the fugitives were being slaughtered by the Greeks as they were gaining the Phoenician ships. Callimachus and Miltiades were conspicuous among the combatants, together with an heroic personage, Echelus or Echetlaeus — representative of one who was said to have been seen in rustic garb while killing the enemies with a plough, and afterwards to have disappeared. The eponymous Marathon was also introduced, with Heracles, who was connected with the place by various legends as well as by his local worship and temple, and the

goddess Athene. The rudely clothed and armed Echelus seems to be a substitute for Heracles—as if legendary spirit were too much weakened to venture on asserting what it would fain have risked, that Heracles himself was personally helpful, but would not be denied entirely, and provided a substitute of reduced dignity. Herodotus is silent about Echelus, but has his own marvellous tale, which he reports at second hand: he had heard, he says, of an Athenian who ascribed his loss of sight to mere proximity to a daemonic combatant on the opposite side who passed him by to kill the man behind him. The painter of the Stoa was of course at liberty to draw on imagination to any extent for such supernatural interpositions, but the stories which could gain popular acceptance are important historical warnings of how far commonplace facts could be suppressed or changed in their favour. Even Pausanias, who visited the place centuries after, assures us, no doubt after what he held to be satisfactory assurance, that the noise of battle was to be heard every night on the plain. Herodotus mentions in simple terms enough the daring of Cynaegirus, who had his hand cut off with an axe as he seized the ornamental prow of a ship, and there perished; but by the time the tale had reached Justin, after becoming a wearisome commonplace meantime, his pertinacity had been exaggerated to absurdity. All know or have opportunities of knowing, the contradictory versions of the incidents of Waterloo, and when Col. Chesney undertook to give a dispassionate analysis of the campaign which led to it and the operations which decided it, the despatches of the commander-in-chief of even the victorious army were scarcely if at all quoted by him, and the memoirs of the conquered Emperor, and the formal and dignified histories, are still less trusted. Herodotus is our substitute as witness nearest to the time for such contemporary commentaries and documents, and he, we find, is open to correction by information supplied by a contemporary of the Emperor Hadrian. Pausanias visiting Marathon finds the marsh, he calls it even a marshy lake, with certain paths across it. It was by ignorance of these paths, he says, that the flying barbarians fell into the morass, where it was in consequence that the greatest slaughter occurred. He concludes his local description by saying that a little beyond the plain is the mountain of Pan and a cave worth a visit: the entrance to

it is narrow, but within are cells, baths, and the so-called goat flock of Pan, rocks, that is, with certain resemblance to goats. Pan therefore had local relations to Marathon, and this goes some way to explain the suggestion of another story.

Herodotus relates that Pheidippides, the herald whom the Athenian generals despatched to Sparta for assistance, reported on his return that when he was on the Parthenian mountain above Tegea, he heard his name called by the god Pan, who bade him expostulate with the Athenians for having neglected him—him who was friendly to them, had been helpful to them before, and would again be. It was in consequence of this announcement that after their success the Athenians constructed a sanctuary for Pan below the Acropolis and propitiated him with annual sacrifices and a lamp race. The site of this cave is shown on coins, and can be still recognized. So far only Herodotus; but Athenaeus preserves a scolon sung in honour of Pan as contributor to the victory (694 D)—and we have the epigram by Simonides for a votive statue;—

‘Me, the goatfooted Pan, the Arcadian, to Medians hostile,
To the Athenians an aid, here has Miltiades set.’

The *Anthologia* (iv. xii. p. 353) gives another epigram in the name of the Athenians alone. That of Miltiades was still more likely in a city such as Athens to excite invidious comment than the later imprudent inscription of Pausanias on the Delphic dedication for the victory of Plataea. His future misfortunes were largely due to the fact that he gave offence to the demus, or at least was represented offensively to the demus, ever only too susceptible of jealousy on such score, as claiming the merit of the victory exclusively for himself.

Still none of these authorities indicate how and in what manner particularly it was that Pan helped the Athenians against the overwhelming multitudes of the Median army, and modern commentators on the battle have hitherto been careless to inquire. Yet it is upon this point that the decision of this important, this typical battle between Europeans and Asiatics, on which the future relation of European civilization to barbarism was dependent, turned. Thucydides (iv. 125) notices the peculiar liability of large armies to sudden and unreasonable panics; and this tendency is enhanced naturally when the

force is not only not homogeneous, but comprises—as we may fairly assume from what is said of the distinguished quality of the Persians and Sacae—a large proportion of very secondary troops, and those held in union by no bonds of true patriotic or even military spirit. The help which the god Pan was considered to have given must be confidently interpreted as the excitement of that panic-terror which threw the wings of the Median array into confusion, and in consequence hampered and made frustrate the valour and success of the centre, and hurried thousands to destruction, trampling upon one another, and urging masses forward to perish in the fatal morass. It is not required to enter here at length into the origin of the ascription of such terrors to Pan, the god of uncultivated wilds, or to cite the numerous allusions to the exploits of the god from the assistance which he rendered to the Olympians in their contest against the Titans, till Ovid wrote the lines—

‘Ipse deus velox discurrere gaudet in altis
Montibus ; et subitas concitat ille fugas.’—*Fast. II.*

Armies, troops, which justly merit the title of barbarian from deficiency of higher moral inspiration or self-confidence, are doubtless most susceptible, not always of alarm at a direct attack, however formidable, but of panic at unexpected attack, at failure of expected support, at access of confusion among disordered ranks and masses, at consciousness of a line of retreat being threatened if not cut off, difficult or non-existent. This is but an exaggeration of the liability of the very best troops to be shaken by an unexpected attack, or especially by an attack in flank ; and it is in this respect that the history of the most successful conflicts of disciplined troops of civilized nations against barbarian numbers constantly repeats the story of Marathon. The general, like Miltiades, watches his opportunity, or makes it, and when it comes strikes hard and strikes rapidly, but strikes chiefly in such a direction as he counts on to probably create confusion—a panic-terror—and then the greater part of his work is done for him by the flying and frightened crowds of the enemies themselves. Against the sudden shock and surprising hardihood of the Athenian attack the Persian army, composed as it was, might have been unable to stand even had

it had time to deploy and open out on fuller ground; receiving the attack as it did, it was infallibly 'rolled up.'

Considering, therefore, all the circumstances, it is reasonable enough to believe that Miltiades, knowing well the composition and characteristics of the army which he had to oppose from his experience during the earlier Persian invasion of Europe by the Bosphorus, had a distinct apprehension from the first news of the debarkation of the enemy at Marathon of how they might be most effectively met and most probably foiled. It is quite intelligible that when all was achieved he could look back at the primary difficulties which he had encountered in the city and at the camp, with full consciousness that to his own strength of character it was due that these were overcome—as it was due to his own individual sagacity, promptitude, and courage above all, that the battle concluded as a victory and that Hellas and civilization were so far saved. It was imprudent of him to let these, his inevitable convictions, find open expression in speech or bearing; but if ever a general was entitled to refer to a victory as his victory, surely it was Miltiades in speaking of Marathon.

Wellington was wiser, who did not disturb the popular conception of the victory of Waterloo as due exclusively to dogged British valour against the full power of Napoleon's army; to have proclaimed from the housetops that it was mainly due to his own sagacious and touching reliance on the pertinacity of Blucher and on his fulfilment at all hazards of his promise to render that help which occupied in time the French reserves, would only have puzzled, if it did not also affront, his countrymen. As it was they were all the more eager to be grateful to him because he let them take the chief merit to themselves.

Herodotus, we have seen, avers that the Athenians were the first who endured to face the Medes undismayed; there may be in this statement some of the exaggeration which has been charged upon it, but there need be no limit to our admiration for the free citizens of the little state who could confront the multitudinous army of conquerors of Asia, Egypt, and Ionia, and that not merely in the noble but headlong despair that prefers death to subjection, but in reliance that any superiority in numbers whatever was open to be countervailed by discipline, vigour, and valour, if only animated and guided by intelligence.

The victory was no doubt largely due to the leading of Miltiades, and none could have known that fact better than himself, after the difficulties he had had to contend with in his own camp. He was accused of assuming and asserting the merit too exclusively; the accusation may have been unjust—it would be but a demonstration of that popular jealousy which was likely to arise without cause, and that it were wise to have avoided furnishing with provocation. But whether the Athenians were unjust or not to their great captain, assuredly they were entitled to great glory on their own part. When we consider what proofs of power and of vindictiveness the Persians had already given on the one hand, on the other that there was an oligarchical party of the Pisistratids who could have brought the city into favour with the great King if only into subjection, it is clear that the democracy distinctly accepted the most desperate issue. The Athenians had extermination staring them in the face as the most probable consequence of resistance, and they chose deliberately to encounter this, after doing their best to avert it, rather than be enslaved. Freedom in life if possible, freedom in death if it must be so; such was the resolve that in later ages wrested the emancipation of Greece from the brutalized tyranny of Turkey—in the very face of the cynicism of the Great Powers.

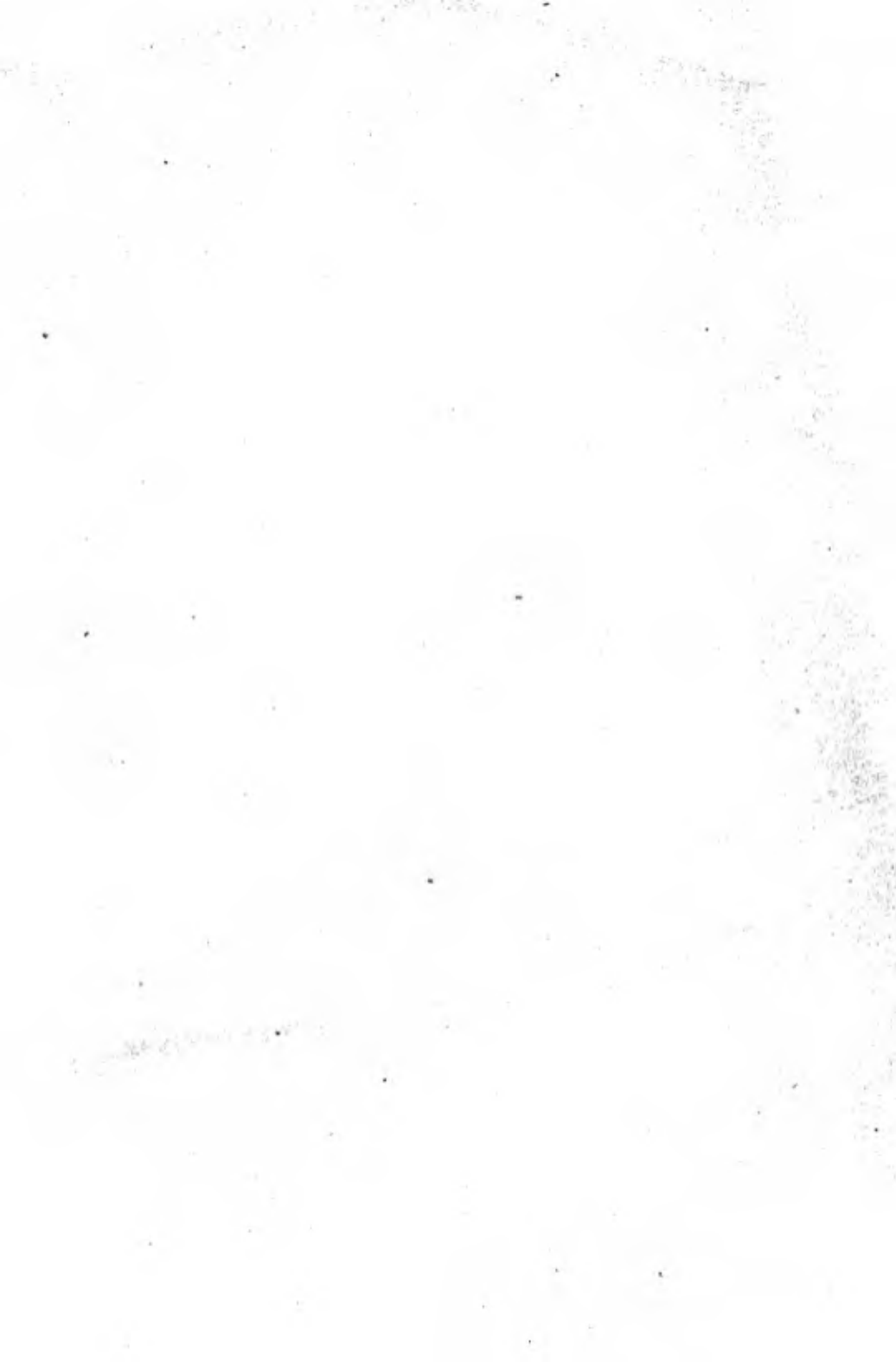
It is interesting to compare the battle of Marathon with that of Arbela, the earliest recorded conflict in battle of Greek and Persian with the last, the first successful check to aggression with the retaliation that was ruinous, the achievement of the Greek who set the first example of intelligence, guiding discipline, and dash on a field of pitched battle against barbarians, with that of the great Macedonian who under circumstances very similar, though exaggerated in proportions, carried the combination of the practice and the art of war to the highest perfection they ever attained in antiquity.

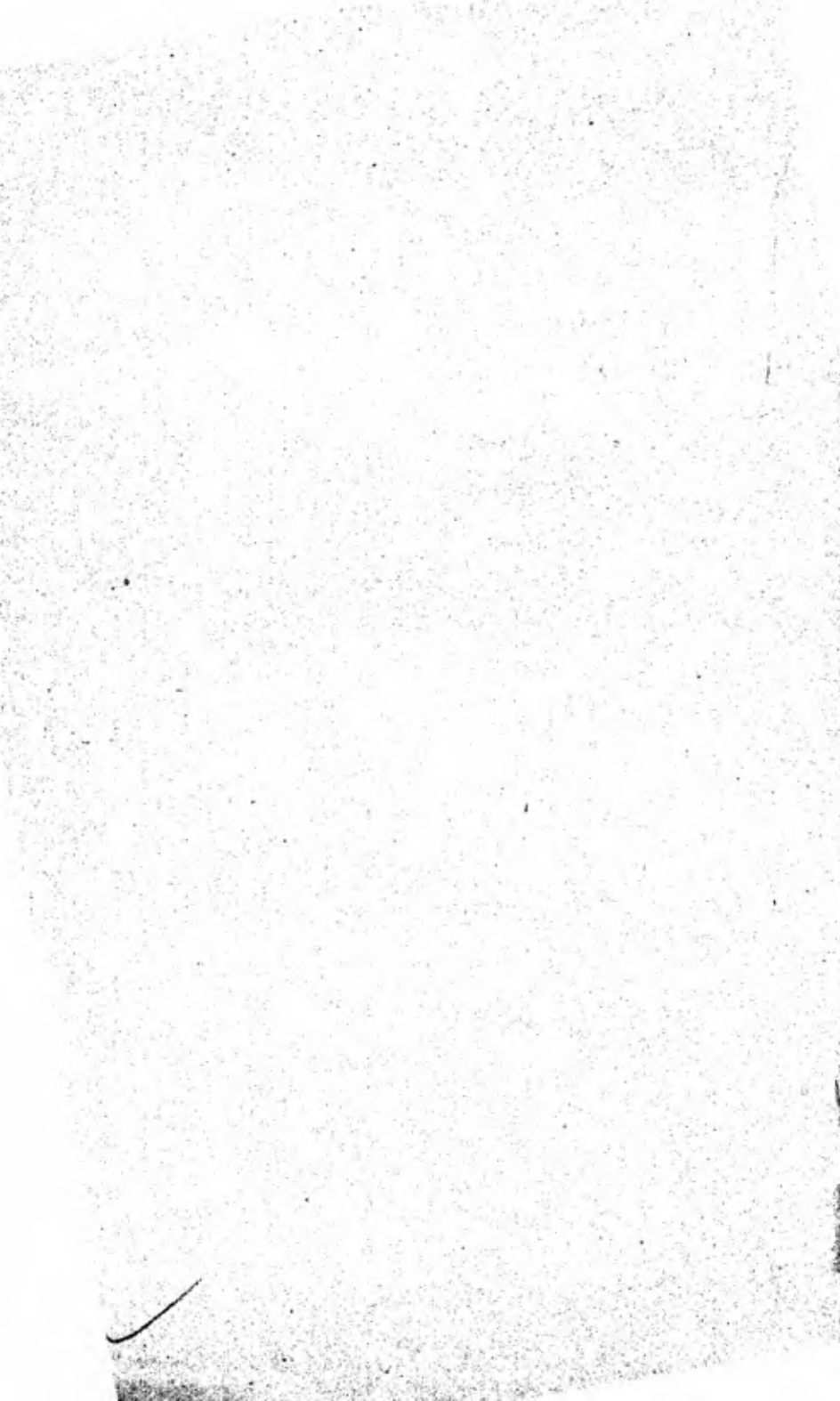
At Arbela as at Marathon the Greeks were excessively outnumbered, and thus exposed to the danger of being outflanked; Alexander provided against this by a second or reserve line prepared and instructed to wheel round and present a face towards either flank as required; and then by the tactics of declining conflict with one opposed wing as long as possible, unless so far as was required to keep it occupied, while he

directed a furious attack on the enemy's right, and thence, while his own flank was protected by his second line, on the flank of the opposed centre. Again, and for the last time and fatally, the Persian was unable to withstand the Greek in a hand-to-hand conflict, and again the panic-fear of a multitude rendered the desperate valour of particular sections unavailing.

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